20c FEBRUARY 16, 1953 YALTA: GRAND ILLUSION—page 10

New Republic

A.N.C.

EISENHOWER ON LOYALTY:
SECURITY PROGRAM GOES UNDERGROUND

HERBERT H. LEHMAN on:
AMERICA NEEDS NEW BLOOD

TALBOTT AND STEVENS:
THE FACTS FROM THE RECORD

Reviews of

Gideon-Welcker's *PAUL KLEE* by Duncan Phillips

Arthur Miller's *THE CRUCIBLE* by Eric Bentley

FEB 12 1953
The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

"Anti-Intellectualism in the Schools"

● In the January 19, 1953, *New Republic* an article entitled "Anti-Intellectualism in the Schools" appeared. The author, Arthur E. Bestor Jr., Professor of History at the University of Illinois, received front-page headlines in the Washington *Post* and other newspapers when he charged at a recent meeting of the American Historical Association that professional educators are watering down public-school curricula in a narrow-minded pursuit of "life adjustment." He requested that august body to support a resolution against the trend toward "anti-intellectualism." It is significant to note that the American Historical Association wisely decided to delay action on the proposed resolution until one of its committees can study it further.

The article in the *New Republic* voices the same criticisms against "anti-intellectualism" which Professor Bestor made at the Historical Association meeting. . . .

I do not believe that Professor Bestor's views can be fairly said to represent those held by a majority of college professors in liberal arts institutions. Although some professors may sympathize with a few of his views, I doubt that they would go to such extremes as Professor Bestor has done. His article, while condemning "the substitution of high-powered propaganda for scientific objectivity," contains such propaganda "scare" words as "party-line" and "public-school bureaucracy." In my opinion he employed these terms dishonestly when he referred to the "party-line laid down by the powerful educational associations, by the public-school bureaucracy, and by the more vocal members of university departments of education." There is no "party-line" laid down, for example, by the National Education Association, largest professional education association in this country. The NEA belongs to the teachers of the United States, who formulate policies at an annual representative assembly. Other responsible educational associations also operate along democratic lines and do not have a "party-line." The term "public-school bureaucracy" is a misnomer; there is no controlling group dominating public education. In fact, the very structure of American public education—control exercised by elected or appointed local boards of education—precludes such a possibility. . . .

To understand the nature of Professor Bestor's criticisms the reader should know that fraction between some liberal arts professors and some professors of education is nothing new. Years ago these misunderstandings were such that neither group had much respect for the other. Education as a science has grown rapidly, however, and as the democratic concepts behind public schools have been appreciated, relations . . . have improved.

Some of this growth as reflected in school curricula has been resented by a few standpat college professors. They regarded curriculum changes as unwarrantable interference with their own special fields of knowledge. But the curriculum changes came anyway. Why?—Because the public insisted on a curriculum which would meet the newer social needs. . . .

The Bestor article is largely a criticism of life adjustment education—in simpler terms, education which concerns the educational needs of all the students, not just those preparing for college. Behind his argument for systematic training in subject-matter disciplines lies a fallacious concept discarded by educational psychologists years ago. This is the idea that certain subjects are necessary in order to train the mind, to inculcate certain mental disciplines. Careful research in this area has shown that this is not so. The use of the term "intellectual training" in his article is misleading, therefore, if it is used only with reference to history or mathematics and not to the "55 problems of high-school youth" to which Professor Bestor referred. Schools do not undervalue intellectual training. They do recognize differences in ability to do abstract thinking. Accordingly, schools take this fact into consideration in setting up their programs. To imply that the Commission of Life Adjustment Education for Youth regards 60 percent of our youth incapable of being benefited by intellectual training is to misinterpret this Commission's statement which Bestor quoted. The focal point of Bestor's criticisms comes in this statement:

> What I am criticizing is the arrogance of those secondary school educators who believe that they *own* [italics mine] the schools and can mold them as they please without regard to the rest of the scientific, intellectual and professional life of the nation.

In another paragraph, Bestor stated:

> In my own state a public-supported Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program has circulated a series of questionnaires purporting to ask citizens, teachers and pupils what they "think is the job of the secondary school."

If secondary school educators believe that they *own* the schools, would they set up programs like the Illinois Curriculum Program? This program is sponsored by the Illinois State Superintendent of Public Instruction and co-operates with universities and colleges in that state employing policies formulated by an advisory group made up of representatives from manufacturing and labor interests, service organizations and educators. Such worthwhile programs as the above are not confined to Illinois. . . .

Questionnaire surveys of the Illinois pattern which centers on the problems of high-school youth provide valuable assistance in building curricula which meet both individual and social needs. Questions in such surveys are directed towards searching out problems, from which understandings needed and educational goals can be more clearly discerned. This process should not be confused with subject-matter skills, for these are merely the means towards an end.

The Bestor article provides sound criticism in laying stress on qualitative achievement as well as quantitative educational achievement. However, this type of article as a whole serves only to drive a wedge between groups in higher education and secondary school educators at a time when all professional educators should be working together to strengthen the work of the schools and to defeat the efforts of those who seek to undermine public confidence in our schools and colleges.

Washington, D. C. ROBERT A. SKAIFE

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Oh, Bully

The stock market improved today as President Eisenhower reported to Congress on the State of the Union.

Issues regarded in Wall Street as war stocks were among those showing the best improvement, but almost the entire market took on a better appearance. – *From an* AP *dispatch.*

Up to the Elis

Col. Robert Rutherford McCormick, editor and publisher of the Washington *Times-Herald* and the Chicago *Tribune* . . . told a gathering of fellow Yale alumni: . . .

"It is incumbent upon those who attended Yale, as distinguished from those who went to lesser institutions," to protect the Constitution from internationalism.

"As Yale led us in making William Howard Taft President of the United States, let Yale lead in preserving our Constitution," he urged. – *From the Washington* Post.

Naturally

Rep. James Bruton has introduced a bill in the Arkansas state legislature to make all unmarried men over 21 in Arkansas pay an annual $750 bachelor's tax. The bill was sent to the House Committee on Conservation of Natural Resources. – *From the Knoxville* News-Sentinel.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR FEB. 16, 1953

5 Loyalty—The Coming Reign of Terror An Editorial
7 The Week:
7 "Some Up and Some Down"
7 The Pot and the Kettle
7 State of Our Liberties
8 "National Origin"—Fraud and Threat, by Herbert H. Lehman
10 Yalta Repudiated, by Samuel L. Sharp
12 Behind the Committee Doors
14 Businessmen at the Plow by Jean Begeman
16 Reaction to the "Tough Policy"
17 Literature and the Arts:
17 C. Giedion-Welcker, *Paul Klee*, by Duncan Phillips
18 Lord Acton, *Essays on Church and State*, by A. Powell Davies
19 Bertrand Russell, *Impact of Science on Society*, by Bruce Bliven
20 Graham Greene, *The Shipwrecked*, by J. M. Brinnin
20 Curt Sachs, *Rhythm and Tempo*, by Robert Evett
21 New Fictions, by J. H. Raleigh
22 Miller's Innocence, by Eric Bentley

EDITOR, Michael Straight
CHAIRMAN, Editorial Board: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
MANAGING EDITOR: Helen Fuller
LITERARY EDITOR: Robert Richman
REPORTERS: Jean Begeman, Tom Fitzsimmons, Arnold J. Heidenheimer (on leave with the Armed Services)
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Eric Bentley, Drama Critic; Malcolm Cowley; Robert Evett, Music Critic.
CONTRIBUTING CRITICS: W. H. Auden, Dudley Fitts, Kimon Friar, Gerald Johnson, V. O. Key, Max Lerner, Richard Lester, James R. Newman, Kathleen Raine, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Read, Mark Schorer, James Johnson Sweeney, Allen Tate, Robert Penn Warren
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT: F. R. Ruskin
COPY ASSISTANT: Lucille Davis

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1953 IN THE USA BY WESTBURY PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N.E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 1416 F ST., N.W., WASHINGTON 4, D.C. BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49th ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20c; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50.

WASHINGTON WIRE

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER holds his first press conference this week and should not find it too hard. Ike has national good-will, is doing his best, and has learned the conservative answers to a lot of domestic issues he knew little about when he first left Paris. We watched Ike at his spectacular pre-convention press conferences at the Pentagon and at Abilene, Kans., where TV was present, and he handled himself well with a trick of filibustering that would have spared downright Truman many a bad day-after. Ike takes a loaded question in his stride, starts speaking immediately with an air of candor, talks around it for a minute or two and then suddenly, with a burst of apparent frankness and an engaging gesture of throwing off all reserves, exclaims, "Now what I *really* mean is—" and then goes on about the same as before while the baffled reporter makes frantic notes. It is good technique.

Now that the "unspeakable" Acheson has been thrown out of office everybody can see what a timid, cautious man he was by contrast to the dynamic Dulles. Democratic Acheson, curiously enough, was the conservative, Republican Dulles the radical. That our new national foreign policy under Dulles is more risky than the old is hardly open to dispute. The country seems prepared to take the risk, and if the new policy succeeds, it will amount to a magnificent victory.

Deneutralization of Formosa appears to be less important than it first seemed and at the start anyway merely authorizes the raids which were already occurring. The risk here is in getting further and further involved. Republican Sens. Alexander Wiley and William Knowland are already talking about bombing the mainland or adopting the policy of "hot pursuit" for our fliers over the Yalu River. Admiral Radford wants a blockade of China which would cause trouble with Britain. It is a question of whether Ike can keep control of the political forces he is now loosing.

This seems even more true of the tough Dulles' talk to France, Germany, Britain and other allies to unite—or else. Timid (and unspeakable) Acheson would never have talked like this. Every American favors European unity. The wisdom of the bold Dulles' approach depends on the appraisal of diplomatic information, the lack of which leaves the lay observer at a heavy disadvantage. It dangerously oversimplifies the affair to charge, as some isolationist papers exultantly do, that Dulles has given our European friends a "75-day ultimatum." What he does appear to have said is that they must show some progress toward creating the European army before the next North Atlantic Treaty Council meeting, April 23, or see Congress cut off foreign aid. But this is just the point. The desire in Congress to slash Truman's $7.8 billion foreign-aid recommendation is almost irresistible. Isn't the Dulles' tactic promoting it; isn't it evoking forces that can't be put back into the bottle again? Once more it's a question whether Ike can control the situation that is now being created.

If it became a choice of national security versus a balanced budget, we have perfect confidence that Ike would choose security. We do not have quite the same confidence in some members of Congress. But a way begins to appear by which eager tax-reducers can avoid the appearance of making the choice. Truman forecasts a budget deficit in the fiscal year closing next June 30 of $5.9 billion (and $10 billion for the year thereafter). However, budget deficits have generally turned out to be overestimated by the cautious budget bureau. Perhaps a billion or so dollars can also be pruned off, or postponed in economies on federal expenditures. And now comes a gimmick: social-security payroll

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

taxes bring in $3 billion or so more than they pay out. The budget presently lists these as "reserves," but a flip of the categories could switch them to "cash receipts." That deft juggling would indicate a cash balance on the Treasury books, or something close to a balance—say within a billion or so—and it would serve as an argument that taxes could be reduced after all.

Some interesting "Best Brains" are getting into outlying parts of the new Administration. Craig R. Shaeffer, the fountain-pen man, who gets a job as assistant secretary of Commerce has been a director of the rich man's Western Tax Council, the outfit that is backing the notorious "millionaires' amendment" limiting income taxes to a fixed percentage of individuals' incomes. Practically all benefits would be confined to highest bracket taxpayers. Then there is Gerald D. Morgan, erstwhile registered Washington lobbyist, who testified in 1949 that the Republican National Committee paid him $7,500 to help draft the Taft-Hartley Act. One of his clients in a former partnership was the National Tax Equality Association which wants higher taxes on farm cooperatives. He is to be legislative counsel in the new White House staff.

Notes: Wage decontrol probably opens the way for some strikes and a revival of genuine collective bargaining; pressure tending to raise living costs however is apt to be met by deflationary counter-forces growing out of the tapering off of defense orders. . . . Keep your eye on Rep. Gracie Pfost (D, Idaho), housewife, who knocked off a Republican opponent on the sole issue of the power trust's efforts to block a big dam on the Colorado River at Hells Canyon. . . . Sen. Lister Hill (D, Ala.) has reintroduced his "oil-for-education" bill to head off the offshore oil grab. . . . Sen. William Jenner, as chairman of the Senate Rules Committee, fired seven staff investigators who dug up the facts of McCarthy's stock manipulations, now McCarthy plans to re-write history: he is asking Jenner to revise the adverse subcommittee report concerning him to give him a whitewash.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

What Are You Going to Do About It?

● Our Democratic Farmer Labor Party of St. Paul and Ramsey County gave Governor Stevenson a 20,000 majority, reelected our Democratic Congressman Eugene J. McCarthy, captured two new seats in the Minnesota legislature giving us control of the Ramsey County delegation, and helped to elect Paul Rasmussen, DFL candidate as a member of the State Railroad and Warehouse Commission.

Immediately after the election our county executive committee appointed a committee on organization because we believe that we can make further improvement in our organization work and achieve greater victories in the future.

This committee has recommended that we strengthen our present ward organizations by securing precinct chairmen in any unorganized precincts and a block chairman for every block in Ramsey County. Every ward and precinct chairman is to be furnished a statistical report of the vote in his area for 1948, 1950 and 1952.

A finance committee, headed by the DFL county treasurer, is to carry on a continuing drive for funds. . . .

A program committee is to organize a speakers' bureau, educational and social programs for ward and county meetings and special events, and to publish a monthly information bulletin. With the one-party press, TV and radio, we are determined to have a state and county paper to give our members the facts that they will not otherwise be likely to secure.

A legislative committee will secure a list of people qualified and available to appear before committees of the Minnesota legislature to present facts on the liberal program of Minnesota. Party representatives are to be appointed to attend particular committee sessions in the House and Senate and report back to the party organization their findings. Similarly, the committee will report on the activities of the national Congress. . . .

A youth activities committee will encourage and strengthen the Young DFL Club in the county and establish similar clubs on the college campuses.

These suggestions have been accepted by the county central committee and as soon as possible an executive secretary and organizing director is to be appointed. Never have we had such splendid co-operation and good will as now between the Party and the AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods.

St. Paul, Minn. HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS

The Grassrooters Reply

● I would like to set Constance Reid's mind at rest. Her letter (*NR*, Jan. 26) referred to a group "calling themselves the Grassrooters" which she described as typical of "aloof little groups" all over the country who, although enthusiastic about Adlai Stevenson, refuse to join the Democratic Party out of "political snobbery" and fear of contamination by professional politics. As chairman of the group to which Miss Reid refers, the Grassroot Democrats of Berkeley, it is my pleasure to assure her that we are wholeheartedly in and behind the Democratic Party and aim to work shoulder to shoulder with the loyal organization. . . .

Your readers might be interested to know that the Grassrooters have maintained their own organization in preference to joining the local Democratic Clubs because so far they have been able to reach people who otherwise would remain inactive. We meet in people's homes, we keep things informal and spontaneous, we "beat the bushes" for interested people. Our aim is not just to inform ourselves, nor to debate issues; we aim to turn out enlightened, informed and united Democratic Party members willing to push anything from candidates to doorbells. We also look forward to participating in the decisions of the next few years, organization, finding a candidate for our Congressional seat, maintaining the Party's liberal leadership. We feel sure that the Democratic Party will welcome the support of groups such as ours.

Berkeley, Calif. JAMES G. WHITEY, M.D.

"The Courage To Be"

● The theory of Paul Tillich propounded in his *The Courage To Be* as reviewed by A. Powell Davies (*NR*, Dec. 29) runs counter in its practical applications to my 30 years experience as a Catholic priest.

The three "categories of typical human anxiety" are liquidated by faith in the "God of tradition." "The anxiety of fate and death" does not bring loss of self, but rather it is dissolved by faith and love which effect the reconstruction and full realization of self in an ineffable union with that infinite Being, that indestructible Reality, who in the Judeo-Christian theology is called God. . . .

The "God of tradition" is what Mr. Tillich himself describes if Mr. Davies interprets him correctly and what Mr. Tillich apparently accepts: "Who is beyond image and [complete] concept and can be experienced but not [fully] known, the God who is the companionate [creative] vitality of the human spirit and the creative ultimacy of all that is real."

From this review of *The Courage To Be* one is led to conclude that Mr. Tillich has been one-sided in his reading and thinking. He has neglected to ponder the vital flow of Christian thought running from before Augustine, through Aquinas, and through the later classical theologians of the old mother Church. Herein lies much of the wisdom of the ages.

San Francisco, Calif. PETER M. DUNNE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 128, NUMBER 7, ISSUE 1994, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 16, 1953 **New Republic**

LOYALTY—THE COMING REIGN OF TERROR?

THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION has unveiled the broad outline of its program for "keeping out the disloyal and the dangerous" from the payrolls of the federal government. Senator McCarthy has enthusiastically heralded the event as a "breath of good, clean fresh air." That commendation from that source is enough by itself to warrant a most careful and critical examination of the program.

In essence, the President has decided to abolish the entire Truman loyalty program, including the Loyalty Review Board and all its satellite boards. As a replacement, a broad security program will be installed. Each department and agency will have a new security officer and a new three-member security board, composed of employees from other agencies, to hold hearings and evaluate testimony. The decisions of that board will be appealable to the head of the agency or department and his determination will be final. The Attorney General is to advise and consult as to the program.

No longer will the employee be judged by a standard speaking in terms of reasonable doubts as to his loyalty to the United States Government. Instead he will be tested by use of the security-risk concept. That concept, heretofore applicable only to certain sensitive agencies, is being extended to cover the entire federal structure. It is a concept that is far broader and more flexible than the now-outmoded loyalty standard. It includes not only the disloyal and the subversive but also the alcoholic, the sexual pervert and the "blabbermouth." The test will therefore become, it is said, whether there is reasonable doubt as to the maintenance of the national security through continued employment of the individual. If there are doubts as to his loyalty, he will not be branded or discharged as disloyal. Nor will he be dismissed as an alcoholic if he drinks too much or as a pervert if his sex life is unorthodox. In all such cases he will simply be fired as unfit or unsuitable for government service for unstated reasons of national security.

This Eisenhower plan, distilled from the fertile Brownell-Dewey imagination, is both deceptively simple and fiendishly clever. It purports to stem from the hackneyed and irrelevant principle, reiterated in the State of the Union message, that "public employment is not a right but a privilege." Now no one has ever denied the truth of this platitude, though many have realized that it gives no answer to the difficult problems respecting the government's treatment of the privilege. But by some strange mental alchemy, the proponents of loyalty inquisitions have twisted this patent rule into a justification for ignoring doctrines of fairness and due process in the discharge of employees. Since a public employee has no right to his job he is thought to have no right to expect elemental standards of decency to be respected when he is accused of or dismissed for disloyalty.

The Eisenhower scheme follows this same melancholy line of irrational thought. The government employee, having no right to his job in the first place, has no right to receive the full benefits of due process when he is charged with being unfit for government service for some reason related to national security. As David Lawrence bluntly put it:

> This means that all the technical arguments about setting up courts of review and cross-examining witnesses as well as the contention that a government employee is innocent until proved guilty become irrelevant. The government now will decide whether an employee is suitable, and it need not give any reason such as disloyalty, security or anything else. It just gets rid of employees who talk too much, or otherwise abuse their government positions.

Such is the real heart of the new program. It just gets rid of employees without any "technical" nonsense about fairness and due process. To the extent that rules of procedure or evidence are adopted to clear the air of what the President has described as "that unreasoned suspicion that accepts rumor and gossip as substitutes for evidence" it will be a matter of grace on the part of those responsible for the program. And such rules will be adopted, in the phraseology of loyalty gobbledygook, only to the extent "consistent with the interests of national security." The FBI informants and the FBI reports will remain safe from the embarrassing scrutiny of the accused individuals. Doubts will continue to do the work of convincing evidence. And so while the standards and the words may change, the pattern and the direction of the Eisenhower program remain essentially the same as marked the Truman program.

Moreover, the new security inquiry will constitute

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

triple jeopardy for all those employees who have been the subject of derogatory information under the two previous loyalty standards. Some 15,786 individuals fall into that category, of whom 3,763 actually had formal hearings. Now all of them must undergo a new examination with all the untold personal suffering, fear and expense that such an inquiry into their private lives entails. That is the heavy price they must pay for the privilege of remaining a part of the Eisenhower team.

The adoption of the security concept as a substitute for the loyalty concept is being hailed in certain quarters as the means of eliminating the incompetence and injustice which were inherent ingredients of Truman's loyalty inquisition. After years of abject silence and acquiescence, loud voices are suddenly being heard condemning the harsh, sadistic cruelty heaped upon government employees accused of disloyalty during the past five years. It was a terrible thing, said Walter Lippmann recently, to convict an employee of disloyalty under the Truman directives. It meant a punishment far worse than losing his federal job. Since he was in effect convicted of being a spy or a traitor, he was branded for life and was politically and morally dead. So terrible was the brand put upon him, said Lippmann, that the procedure broke down. Loyalty boards hesitated to find an employee guilty of disloyalty when the penalty was so great—a fact that will come as news to the 490 persons labeled disloyal by these boards and dismissed from the federal service from March, 1947, through December, 1952.

But what was even worse in the eyes of Lippmann and the others who are adding their voices to the chorus is the fact that the exclusive concentration on the loyalty issue by the Truman boards meant that they could not eliminate the bad security risks—the perverts, the drunkards, the loose talkers. The loyalty boards members were so conscientious, we are told, that they refused to label such persons disloyal. And so Congress and the people were unhappy about this situation. All those drunkards were swaying around government corridors and all those persons about whom questions had been raised concerning their loyalty were freely going to and fro among government files—while the loyalty boards conscientiously refused, because of the extreme penalties involved or because it was impossible to say that four martinis equalled disloyalty, to label these characters as disloyal to the United States.

But now all this will change, we are told. The Eisenhower security purge, said Mr. Lippmann, "will make it easier to refuse employment and to dismiss in that it will no longer be necessary to destroy a man by branding him as disloyal when—in fact—he may be an undesirable public employee because at worst he has kept bad company or has bad personal habits or is a foolish fellow. . . . Under the system that the President is setting up, it should be possible to fire a man without destroying him—without in fact branding him at all—as befits a civilized state."

It is undeniably better, of course, not to have to brand a person as disloyal. But it is a cruel hoax, which ill befits a civilized state, to assume that the millennium has arrived by merely framing the discharge in terms of being unfit for government service. The real reason for the discharge, the finding of disloyalty, remains a permanent part of the employee's personnel file and follows him about wherever he seeks to work for the government. And it is small comfort to be known to the outside world as a person unfit for government service, as a person who is either a traitor, a drunkard, a sexual pervert or a "blabbermouth."

But it is an even greater hoax on the security of the nation and on the rights of government employees to open the floodgates of indiscriminate firings in the nebulous name of national security. The concept of loyalty was indeed an impossible one to administer fairly and realistically. But the concept of security, which covers loyalty and anything else imaginable, is even more difficult to contain within fair and realistic bounds. It permits unbridled discretion to override any rules of evidence or standards of permissible conduct. Always the emphasis is on the ease with which employment may be refused or terminated. Reasons need not be given. The administrator becomes all-powerful, answerable to no one but his own conscience.

Therein lies the fatal weakness of the Eisenhower security program. The security concept is so hazy as to permit and even invite easy abuse. The way is now open to appease McCarthy and the other impetuous legislators who demand a bloodletting among government employees. Men can now be discharged on the slightest pretext without resort to the fearful brand of disloyalty. We can now have a federal payroll devoid of anyone who has ever associated with suspicious persons or joined a suspicious organization or read suspicious literature. To be sure, we won't rely on idle rumor; we will demand absolute proof that the person was seen reading a copy of the *New Masses* while still a student at Columbia. We don't have to call him disloyal. We will just call him unfit for government service. See how easy it is? All that conscientiousness which bothered the old loyalty boards is just a technical irrelevance.

Thus opens the door on what could become, for government employees at least, the Eisenhower reign of terror.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

"SOME UP AND SOME DOWN"

Swift removal of price and rent controls are underway as the wary eye of the American consumer turns to ominous price fluctuations—"some up and some down," as promised by President Eisenhower in his State of the Union message. There is no wait for April 30 when controls legislation expires. The question asked in all circles is how high prices will go.

No one has a positive answer to the question. Officials of the Economic Stabilization Agency don't know. The system of marginal determination of ceilings means that they do not know where price lids are effective. They only point to the items at peak prices or pressing for price relief as the danger areas.

On December 15, 1952, there were 61 items at peak price, representing 45.6 percent of the average family budget. A total of 35 items, representing 18.1 percent of the budget, are within two percent of ceiling. A key item in the first group is rent. Rent stabilization will remain on the books until April 30, and President Eisenhower has promised to ask for extension. Federal rent control applies to some six million housing units or families of 18 million people in 130 designated critical-defense-housing areas. Full power now rests with local governing bodies to reject any federal certification of critical-defense-housing areas.

Major food items at or near ceiling include milk, breakfast cereals, bakery products, flour, rice and beer. These items have a total annual sale of $26 billion. Joseph Freehill, resigning as Price Stabilizer, pointed out that "any increase in these fields would have a strong impact on the housewife" and the economy.

Freehill lists in addition 163 industrial material and commodities and related manufactured goods, with estimated annual sales of $105 billion, as "likely" to rise when controls are removed. On January 14 in a report to the then Economic Stabilizer Michael DiSalle, Freehill predicted: "I think it can be safely said that an abandonment of price controls at this time would certainly result in added cost to business, the consumer, and the nation's tax bill of well above $3 billion a year. . . . "

Whether Freehill's predictions will be borne out or whether the "natural workings of economic laws" will ease the impact, no one positively knows.

THE POT AND THE KETTLE

The man who called Gen. George C. Marshall "a living lie" has been caught treading dubious financial waters.

Sen. William E. Jenner, re-elected last November because President Eisenhower would not turn his back on a single Republican candidate for the Senate from McCarthy and Jenner on up, has illegally accepted government disability payments since 1944. When Paul Butler, the Democratic national committeeman from Indiana, challenged Jenner's right to the payments during the campaign last fall, Jenner indignantly replied:

> I have gone through two political campaigns since 1944 and no one has ever suggested there was anything improper about the compensation. I am sure it is cited now only as a political attack designed to embarrass me.

But the Comptroller General has now ruled that Jenner is not entitled to the military disability payments he has been drawing. The Economy Act of 1932 bans dual payments to federal employees so he must repay the disability payments he has received since becoming a Senator. An Air Force Captain in the last war, Jenner never saw combat duty but while he was in the Air Force developed an eye ailment. For this disability he has been receiving $179 a month (prior to last years military pay boost, the payments were $150 a month) in addition to his Senate salary of $12,500 per year.

Senator Jenner, whose amendment last year opened relief rolls to the public so that chiselers would be exposed, must return roughly $14,000 to the government.

STATE OF OUR LIBERTIES

A conference on civil liberties, held in New York City on the weekend of January 31, agreed that encroachments on our liberties are getting steadily worse in many fields. A principal speaker, Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, denounced the US Supreme Court for upholding the conviction of 11 Communist leaders under the Smith Act. Said Dr. Meiklejohn:

> In the field of political opinion or expression or affiliation, we cannot commit a punishable crime for the reason that in that field, the law makers have no authority to legislate a crime into existence.
>
> I know that the law today is what today the Supreme Court says it is. But I am hoping that tomorrow the members of the Court will read again from Madison and Hamilton and Harlan. Perhaps tomorrow they will change their minds.

US Sen. William Langer (R, N.D.) announced he has appointed a five-member subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee to safeguard civil liberties. Its members will include Sens. Everett M. Dirksen, Robert C. Hendrickson, Estes Kefauver and Thomas C. Hennings Jr.

Before the conference took place, it was attacked by the American Committee for Cultural Freedom on the ground that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee "is a Communist front." As a result, four individuals who had been named as sponsors withdrew their support. Others, responding to telegrams from Dr. George S. Counts of Teachers College, on behalf of the Committee for Cultural Freedom, repudiated the charge of Communist control.

The Conference itself, as was to be expected, gave no evidence for or against the accusation of Communist control. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has as chairman Prof. Paul L. Lehmann, and as director, Dr. Clark Foreman. Organized about 18 months ago, it is not on the Attorney General's list of subversive groups. Despite the similarity of name, it has no connection with the American Civil Liberties Union.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"NATIONAL ORIGIN"—FRAUD AND THREAT

by Herbert H. Lehman

THIS FALL, for the first time in many years, immigration became a serious subject for debate in a Presidential campaign. Significantly, both Governor Stevenson and General Eisenhower condemned the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act in the most decisive terms. That law so thoroughly outraged American decencies that it has dissipated at once the fog of apathy in which the subject was long enshrouded.

The present law is hopelessly defective in the way it discriminates against certain nationalities and races, in the way it selects potential immigrants, in the manner it treats them in the process of coming here, in the nature of the rights it accords them after they arrive, and in the protection of their rights as citizens after they have been naturalized. In all these and other respects, the Act is contrary to our own interests and traditions.

The McCarran-Walter Act takes over, almost intact, the old method of selecting applicants for admission. Within an annual total of little more than 150,000, a total that remains inflexibly the same from year to year, whatever the particular needs of the United States may be, places are allocated by the National Origins Quota System. Under that System every nation is assigned a quota which bears the same relationship to the whole 150,000 that the "stock" of that nationality bears to the whole population of the United States computed on the census of 1920. Individuals may immigrate only if they find room in their country's quota. The alleged justification of the System is that it eases problems of assimilation.

Those who first introduced the quota in the laws of 1921 and 1924 were franker as to their motive. They then argued that there was a difference between the "old" immigrants of Northern and Western Europe and the "new" immigrants of Eastern and Southern Europe. It was claimed that the former were racially superior and would make better citizens than the latter. This assumption, which is wholly untrue, is still the real basis of the National Origins device. The McCarran law used the old census of 1920 instead of that of 1950 because it intended to discriminate against the peoples of Southern and Eastern Europe. That discrimination is the product of the belief in the biological supremacy of people of Anglo-Saxon birth over "inferior races."

Herbert H. Lehman, Democrat, is US Senator from New York.

Further evidence of racial discrimination in the new law is found in provisions that prevent the Negro residents of the British West Indies from using the British quotas. And, although a slight concession is made to some Orientals, the racial definition of that group is so restrictive that the son of a Chinese mother and an English father, born in London, is reckoned an Oriental who must use the Chinese quota of barely 100 rather than the English. And immigration from the entire Asiatic Pacific area, consisting of 15 to 20 nations, including Japan, China, India, the Philippines, Siam and others, is limited to the miserably small aggregate quota of 2,000 persons. Such prejudices, which all Americans abhor, have been left us from the era of the Ku Klux Klan and are still enshrined in our law.

We have now had long experience with the newer Americans and have not found them wanting. We know that the children of Poles and Italians, Greeks and Balts, make just as good citizens as the children of Englishmen or Germans. Indeed, our whole history demonstrates that every group has the capacity for making a useful contribution to American life. The persistence of the National Origins Quota, which has been an untouchable "sacred cow," is an undeserved insult upon millions of our own citizens.

This feature of the law is an obstacle to any realistic immigration program. It provides large paper quotas never used, for countries like Great Britain and Ireland, whose peoples do not wish to become American citizens, while countries like Italy and Greece, whose people are eager to come to us, are permitted a mere trickle, and even that in many instances is mortgaged for decades ahead.

Arbitary administrative provisions are as objectionable as the method of selection. Scores of petty details make the way difficult for the prospective immigrant. Consuls have absolute power to grant or refuse visas without appeal; not even the Secretary of State may intervene. Never in our history has any American official, executive or judicial, been given the despotic power this law bestows on bureaucrats accountable to no one. An American citizen may thus be deprived of the right to be united with a dear parent or close relative and never even get to know the reason why.

An immigrant may reach his port of en[illegible] with a valid visa, then discover that a mistake by the Amer[illegible] consul in Europe sends him home again—even an honest error

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

arising through no fault on the part of the applicant for admission. After he is once admitted, the alien may be brutally deported for causes vaguely stated and by a process in which he can hardly defend himself. Again he has no statutory right of appeal. In any hearing, the immigrant will encounter as his judges the same men who will be prosecutors in other similar cases. The net effect is that his case is frequently prejudiced against him even before he has a chance to be heard.

Security is out of his reach even after he becomes a citizen. The naturalization provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act make that certain. At no time in the history of the Republic did the law draw a distinction between the native and the foreign-born citizen. The McCarran-Walter Act does so by providing denaturalization for certain acts committed after the grant of citizenship. For a period of five to 10 years after his naturalization, the foreign-born citizen is on probation; behavior which is not even criminal for natives will earn him deportation or denaturalization.

The National Origins Quota, the administrative procedures, and the naturalization provisions all treat the foreigner as a menace. That attitude is the product of years when some Americans vainly imagined that they could draw back into a tight little isolation of Nordic superiority. Today those anachronistic prejudices prevent us from utilizing immigration as an instrument of national policy to further American interests at home and abroad.

History shows that a reasonable amount of immigration has a stimulating effect on our economy, on our social structure, and on our culture and on the whole framework of our national life. The whole concept that immigration was something grudgingly permitted and a burden which we unwillingly assumed is an outmoded and an outdated one. It is part of a narrow concept of our economy—namely that our economy is limited in scope and horizon and that the more people we admit to the United States, the more of our wealth or earnings we must share with others and the less each of us will have for ourselves.

We have found, instead, that our national economy can be dynamic and expanding, that we need recognize no economic limitations or horizons. And in such an economy, regulated immigration is a stimulus rather than a handicap to our continued growth and expansion. Immigration provides an invigorating infusion of fresh blood and energy. It is *good* for America.

A reaffirmation of our historic role as the refuge of the oppressed is more necessary now than ever. We are engaged in a titantic struggle with a shrewd and ruthless enemy who uses against us an armory of misleading propaganda. In this struggle for the minds of men, we must sincerely hold out the ideals of human freedom, dignity and equality. But those details will not be convincing if our own practice contradicts them by treating some kinds of men as less worthy than others.

As a simple substitute for the present McCarran law, I would suggest that we establish some maximum total quota limitation such as 300,000 or 350,000 annually, flexibly geared to our own needs and to our capacity for absorbing immigrants into our national life and into our national economy.

We should, of course, retain the present bars against undesirables, against criminals, the mentally defective, subversives and those who are permanently incapacitated and unable to make a living. There is not the slightest difference of viewpoint with regard to that.

But those we accept should be admitted on the basis of individual worth, aptitude and desirability rather than of racial or national affiliation.

We should allocate a certain percentage of the total immigration quota to the victims of religious, political or racial persecution and thus leave open a door of hope to the enslaved victims behind the Communist Iron Curtain. We should set apart a certain percentage of the places to aid family unification; another percentage to further the primary interest of the United States foreign policy or other United States national interests. We should leave remaining places open for so-called "new seed" immigrants of whatever nationality or color or creed, who qualify as worthy and desirable persons for immigration into this country.

Within each of these categories or other categories which may be designated, selection should be on the basis of individual aptitude and desirability. The attributes we should consider are those which would help the individual to play a useful role in American society: his intelligence, character, capacity to adjust to new situations, attachments to democratic ideals, vocational or scientific attainments, leadership traits and physical fitness. We have had enough experience in testing for the civil service and the armed forces to know that a register could be created on this basis that would humanely single out for admission those most likely to contribute to the national welfare.

Such a system would be flexible yet uniform. It would serve our needs, yet not discriminate against nationalities, races or creeds. It would adapt to the conditions of the twentieth century our traditional ideals of liberty and equality. It would reaffirm what Thomas Jefferson once confidently proclaimed, that America is the hope of mankind.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YALTA REPUDIATED

by Samuel L. Sharp

PRECISION IS apparently not going to be the chief virtue of our new foreign policy. It was certainly missing in the much headlined portion of President Eisenhower's State of the Union address announcing the impending repudiation of past secret understandings with foreign powers which, in the President's words, "permit" the enslavement of once free peoples. With a vagueness appropriate for campaign oratory but somewhat distressing in an outline of positive policies, the President failed to identify the specific undertakings he expects Congress to repudiate and the exact purpose of such a step. Nor did he make clear, when speaking of "past" understandings, how far into the past he would go. It is, however, safe to assume that he was not referring, say, to the secret "memorandum" negotiated in 1905 by Theodore Roosevelt's Secretary of War, William Howard Taft, with Premier Katsura of Japan. That deal more or less "permitted" the enslavement of the people of Korea by Japan.

President Eisenhower no doubt had in mind agreements of a more recent date and in particular the Yalta agreement, now exactly eight years old, and the causal connection between Yalta and the enslavement of Poland and China. Before we take a closer look at that agreement and try to see what there is in it that can still be usefully repudiated, let us return for a moment to the historical example cited above. It is interesting to see in what terms the President of the United States and his Secretary of State, anno 1905, justified their action. Theodore Roosevelt argued that since the United States could not prevent the conquest of Korea by Japan, "the next best thing"—to quote the historian Thomas A. Bailey—"was to recognize the inevitable and obtain something in return." And Elihu Root defended his decision 25 years later, when he wrote to his biographer, Mr. Jessup: "There was nothing to do except to fight Japan; Congress wouldn't have declared war. . . . All we might have done was to make threats which we could not carry out."

Some of the controversy over Yalta might possibly have been avoided if the makers of American policy in 1945-1952 had spoken in similarly precise and political terms of the deals into which they had to, or believed they had to, enter. This was, however, impossible, not only because of wartime conditions but also because of the mental make-up of some people around Franklin Delano Roosevelt. "We really believed in our hearts that this was the dawn of the new day that we had all been praying for," Harry Hopkins, reputed to be a shrewd and cynical horse-trader, wrote after Yalta. Deals are the very stuff of which politics is made. Some are good, some bad. In international politics they are frequently made at the expense of third, especially smaller, nations. But why be enthusiastic and righteous about the inevitable? It is the element of irritating righteousness in the way some Democratic spokesmen explained and justified Yalta that was most likely to produce a painful ricochet when subsequent events played into the hands of critics.

The obvious but rarely made point about Yalta and the other wartime conferences was that they merely took cognizance of certain situations which were created elsewhere, mostly on the battlefield. No one "gave" Poland to Stalin at Yalta; he had it already. The alternative was not between a free and an enslaved Poland. The choice was much narrower: between a Soviet-dominated Poland with or without either a face-saving compromise with the West or an attempt to salvage what could be salvaged, which was not much. Only such minimum expectations, and not ridiculous and exaggerated hopes of the millennium, justified the arrangements made at the wartime conferences which were, in the wise words of George F. Kennan, at worst "somewhat redundant." Yalta and Potsdam were as "good" as the situation at the time or its honest, though possibly mistaken, evaluation by American military and political leaders.

Such an interpretation of Yalta appears to some suited only for "egg-heads." Poland is under Stalin's boot, and China is in the hands of Communists. This is a failure of American policies. And where there is a failure there must be treason, according to the all too simple image of foreign policy adopted by the non-eggheads. To quote a sports writer turned political columnist: "When we gave the world away at Yalta, somebody inside was shooting a cute angle." Otherwise, why "pay a dangerous premium for what you've already got stashed away in your hip pocket?"—an obvious reference to the price in Chinese real estate paid for the entry of the Soviet Union into the war against Japan. Now, what is it that we are asked to repudiate now: the immorality of the deal or the overpayment. And—was the world really "stashed away" in our hip pocket at the time? "In considering the wisdom of these [Yalta] agreements," writes James F. Byrnes in *Speaking Frankly*, "one should be fair enough to consider

Samuel L. Sharp is Associate Professor of International Relations at American University. His book "Poland's Problems: Past and Future," is scheduled for publication by Harvard University Press this year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the circumstances under which the promises were made. It was six weeks after the serious German counter-attack on the Western front. . . . Neither the President nor anyone else at that time knew how long the Germans could hold out and how many casualties we would suffer before they surrendered. The President had with him at Yalta the Joint Chiefs of Staff. They knew the situation." Beyond the war in Europe there was another unfinished operation against Japan, at the time expected to be rather costly in terms of American lives—an incorrect estimate, not a "cute angle."

As a kind of Operation Smack against the insistence of some Democratic spokesmen on the beauties of Yalta, the repudiation move is understandable. However, there are indications that the new Administration plans to go beyond that, to cater to some folksy but erroneous ideas about the nature of international politics and the aims and ways of American foreign policy. This is likely to create new illusions, expectations of spectacular (and, of course, inexpensive) practical results. There is a new and louder righteousness upon us, along with the reduction to some simple and public tricks of problems that cannot always be handled either openly or simply.

It is, of course, easier to capture the imagination of non-eggheads than to recapture China or Poland. Unfortunately, this is not foreign policy. The suggestion that the Congress repudiate in some dramatic way the "past secret undertakings" does not quite lend itself to translation into useful action for several reasons. First, most of the commitments were open, not secret. Second, some commitments were of a non-recurrent nature and after they had been carried out it is pointless not to "recognize" them. Third, Yalta and Potsdam have actually been repudiated long ago, in so much as this was in the power of the United States to do so.

Take, for instance, the Yalta agreement on Poland. It consisted of territorial provisions and arrangements for a government of "national unity." The commitment of the United States was announced immediately after the end of the conference; it was no secret. We could nevertheless still refuse to "recognize" it. But what part of the deal is to be repudiated? Territorially, Yalta committed us to support the cession of territory east of the so-called Curzon Line to Russia. Many Americans still feel that the Curzon Line would have been a "just" frontier for Poland, if only the Russians stayed east of it. Are we now to endorse a return to the Riga line of 1921? Or possibly that of 1772, the date of the first partition? The cession of territory to Russia was coupled, at Yalta, with the endorsement of unspecified but "substantial" acquisitions of territory by Poland at the expense of Germany. These acquisitions were spelled out at Potsdam, in the form of putting the territories under "Polish administration." But on this point the United States "repudiated" Potsdam as early as September, 1946, in the famous Stuttgart speech by Secretary Byrnes—incidentally, to the dismay of many patriotic Poles who would like to abolish the Curzon Line but approve wholeheartedly of the Potsdam frontier. The United States may find itself one day in a position actually to determine whether the territory in question should be returned to Germany or retained by Poland. It will then be found that the choice is not all between righteousness and wickedness.

The other deal, on the government of Poland, has long been repudiated by events. The hopeless "national unity" collapsed quite early and ceased to exist formally after the elections of 1947. What is there left to "recognize" or not to recognize? We could, of course, withdraw recognition from the present Communist government of Poland and set up in business some kind of an exile government (or galvanize a body by that name still in existence somewhere in England). On the record, our biggest plum in the Cold War has been Tito, and the lack of a commitment to a Yugoslav group in exile enhanced the flexibility of American policy.

A Yalta deal that was kept secret for some time was that on China. The commitment of the President of the United States to persuade Chiang to grant concessions to Russia has been carried out, and apparently without great difficulties. The Nationalist Government negotiated the arrangement directly with the Soviet Union. The subsequent victory of the Communists in China's long civil war materialized a few years after Yalta, and the connection between the two events is still debatable. It was, of course, foolish to propagate the myth of Mao's garden-variety Communism, but it merely helped to accept what was otherwise inevitable. We never recognized Mao's regime and may continue to ignore it. We certainly cannot repudiate the *fact* that he is in control of the Chinese mainland. The other provisions of the Yalta agreement were already in effect "repudiated" in a Senate resolution ratifying the peace treaty with Japan.

Press reactions to the repudiation move indicate serious doubts as to the practical results to follow. It is claimed by some that it is either a nice moral gesture or, at any rate, "good propaganda." But propaganda, and that fancier variety thereof marketed as psychological warfare, is like an artillery barrage which is supposed to serve more tangible purposes than that of merely making "boom." No such purpose can as yet be seen behind the smoke raised by the first statements of what is being publicized as a positive foreign policy. One should like to hope that the posture of "paralyzed tension" will not be replaced merely by a different kind of paraplegic manifestation characterized by uncontrolled "shakes."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEHIND THE COMMITTEE DOORS:

They chose the name "Crusade." And no charge of corruption and incompetence was too sweeping to be hurled by the "Crusaders" against those they hoped to replace. To every question concerning contradictory campaign promises the answer was: "We have only to eliminate waste and corruption and the savings will be counted in the billions."

When Harold E. Talbott was proposed as Secretary of the Air Force, Sen. Estes Kefauver asked that he explain two matters, one old, one new, to the Senate Armed Forces Committee—two matters which reflected upon his moral sense and/or his intelligence, his qualifications as a "Crusader."

The first matter concerned the dealings of Col. E. A. Deeds, Chief of the Procurement Division, Signal Corps, during World War I, with the Dayton-Wright Corporation. Colonel Deeds had been an officer of the company; Mr. Talbott was its president. These dealings resulted in the production of 3,000 DH4's, better known as "The Flaming Coffin," and condemned by General Pershing, Eddie Rickenbacker and everyone concerned with it.

The second matter concerned the pricing practices of the Electric Auto-Lite Corporation and of Chrysler Corporation when selling to the government. Mr. Talbott is a director of both corporations and chairman of the finance committee of the former. Senator Kefauver's summary of reports by Justice Charles Evans Hughes, in the first case, and by Rep. Porter Hardy, in the second, is given below, along with Mr. Talbott's replies.

SEN. ESTES KEFAUVER'S SUMMARY OF CHARLES EVANS HUGHES' FINDINGS IN AIRCRAFT INVESTIGATIONS OF 1918

"In April, 1914, Col. E. A. Deeds, C. F. Kettering, H. E. Talbott Sr., and his son, H. E. Talbott Jr. organized the Dayton Metal Products Company. Late in 1917 it acquired ownership of the Dayton Wright Airplane Co. . . .

This company "was launched about the time of our entry into the war, manifestly with the expectation of obtaining government contracts. . . ."

The first contract, effected August 17, 1917, was for only 40 planes. This was subsequently modified, and the total number of planes expanded to 4,000, contracted for on a cost-plus basis, the estimated amount involved being upward of $30 million. Under the terms of the first contract the fixed profit for the company was estimated at $3,750,000. A later estimate set the figure at roughly $3,500,000.

"The promoters of this enterprise . . . not content with these profits which were to accrue to them either directly or through their ownership of the Dayton Metal Products Company, at once took advantage of the opportunity to increase their gains by salaries, as executive officers of the Dayton Wright Airplane Company. Dating from August 1, 1917, the salaries thus allowed were as follows:

"H. E. Talbott Sr., $35,000; C. F. Kettering, $35,000; and H. E. Talbott Jr. (30 years old, who was made president of the company), $30,000. Talbott, senior, was at the time receiving, and continued to receive, $60,000 a year as president of the Dayton Metal Products Company; Kettering received a salary of $25,000 from the Dayton Metal Products Company; Kettering received a salary of $25,000 from the Dayton Metal Products Company and $50,000 from the Delco Company; and Talbott, junior, was also receiving a salary of $18,000 from the Dayton Metal Products Company. . . . Practically at the inception of the government's aviation activity in connection with the war, and within the sphere of Colonel Deeds' important if not commanding influence, his former business associates were placed at once through government contracts in a position where they had the assurance of very large profits upon a relatively small investment of their own money and in addition were able to secure generous salaries which they charged against the government as part of the cost of manufacture. . . .

"Around May, 1917, the vice-president of the Dayton Metal Products Company, Col. E. A. Deeds, ostensibly resigned from that company and went to assume the job of head of the Aircraft Production Board in Washington, a position in which he had considerable, if not commanding, influence in directing the placement of aircraft contracts. While the minutes of the directors' meeting of the Dayton Metal Products Company, held May 21, 1917, purport to show an offer by Deeds of his stock in the company to the other directors so as to divest himself of any conflict of interest in his forthcoming capacity in Washington, the evidence shows (a) that Deeds was in Washington on that date and could not have participated in the meeting or made any statement, and (b) that if any effective transfer of the stock was made, it was not made until sometime after May, 1917—sometime between May and September, 1917." . . .

"While chairman of the Aircraft Production Board, Deeds continued to carry on improper correspondence, relating to the affairs of the Army in relation to his former company, with Kettering and Talbott, Senior," (Texts of telegrams from Deeds to Talbott Sr. were read at this point.)

". . . This highly improper conduct in holding communications in this manner with his former business associates in a transaction pending between the Dayton Wright Co. and a government department in Colonel Deeds' charge demands the attention of the military authorities.

". . . The evidence discloses conduct which, although of a reprehensible character, cannot be regarded as affording a sufficient basis for charges under existing statutes, but there are certain acts shown, not only highly improper in themselves, but of a special significance, which lead to disciplinary measures. The evidence with respect to Col. Edward A. Deeds should be presented to the Secretary of War to the end that Colonel Deeds may be tried by court martial for his conduct (a) in acting as confidential adviser of his former business associate, H. E. Talbott, of Dayton Wright Airplane Company, and in conveying information to Mr. Talbott in an improper manner with respect to the transaction of business between that company and the division of the Signal Corps of which Colonel Deeds was the head, and (b) in giving to the representatives of the Committee on Public Information a false and misleading statement with respect to the progress of aircraft production for the purpose of publication with the authority of the Secretary of War."

SENATOR KEFAUVER: ". . . Do you think the telegrams are all right, the exchange of telegrams?"

MR. TALBOTT: "Senator, I think they were perfectly proper. Unfortunate in their implication, but perfectly proper."

SENATOR KEFAUVER: "Mr. Talbott, do you think it in the public interest to have this kind of communication relationship as existed between Colonel Deeds and your people?"

MR. TALBOTT: "I do not."

SENATOR KEFAUVER: "If you found it out, would you take effective steps to stop it?"

MR. TALBOTT: "I would."

* * * * *

THE HARDY CASE—In 1951 and 1952, the Government Operations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department conducted an inquiry into the procurement of automotive spare parts by the United States Government. They reported their findings in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Senate Hears Talbott and Stevens

House Report No. 1811 of the Eighty-second Congress, second session. The report was dated April 23, 1952.

The subcommittee, in its report, gave the following reason for the investigation:

"In the fall of 1950 the General Accounting Office brought to the attention of this subcommittee certain facts which indicated the possibility that the government was paying excessive prices for automotive parts. Several specific cases had been found where parts had been procured, after competitive bidding, from a vehicle assembler rather than from the company manufacturing the part. One of these cases which the General Accounting Office referred to as typifying a practice more or less general throughout the industry involved the following circumstances:

"The government advertised for 1,000 generators of a certain type; of the bids submitted two were significant—one from Chrysler Motors, Inc., for $77.20 each, and one from Electric Auto-Lite for $87 each; investigations disclosed that the generator was in fact made by Electric Auto-Lite and had been previously sold to Chrysler for $52 each." These generators were shipped direct to Rossford Arsenal, 10 miles away, from Electric Auto-Lite and never went to Chrysler at all.

Subsequent investigation showed that this practice was widespread. The House subcommittee estimated [it] cost the government $305 million over a five-year period. The subcommittee reported that the Department of the Army took the position that there is no sound basis for procuring replacement parts other than directly from the basic manufacturer but that the existence of industry practices renders the division procurement officials powerless to buy directly from the source.

In its conclusion, the subcommittee stated:

"For many years automotive-parts manufacturers have refrained from competing with vehicle assemblers in the sale of replacement parts to the government. These trade practices have increased by untold millions of dollars the cost to the government of procuring automotive parts. . . . This subcommittee could find no justifiable basis, as a general proposition, for buying replenishment parts from other than the source manufacturer.

SENATOR KEFAUVER: ". . . As a director of both these two corporations, were you aware of the practices described above?"

MR. TALBOTT: "No."

SENATOR KEFAUVER: "Mr. Talbott, did you approve of these practices?"

MR. TALBOTT: "I don't understand the practices, Senator. If there is some way the government is being treated unfairly . . . certainly I don't approve of it."

SENATOR KEFAUVER (on the Senate floor): ". . . I must cast my vote against the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Talbott."

When Robert Ten Broeck Stevens was proposed as Secretary of the Army, Sen. Herbert Lehman objected to what he considered a circumvention of the law. There is some question as to whether a "Crusader" is justified in abiding by the letter of the law while violating its spirit. Senator Lehman's observations follow:

SENATOR LEHMAN: Mr. President, the nomination of Mr. Stevens to be Secretary of the Army is now before the Senate. . . . I arrive at the same conclusion as in the case of Mr. Charles E. Wilson. . . .

I shall vote against the confirmation of Mr. Stevens' nomination because I feel that his appointment . . . is contrary to the spirit and letter of the law. . . . The pertinent section of the law . . . says:

> Whoever, being an officer, agent, or member of, or directly or indirectly interested in the pecuniary profits or contracts of any corporation, joint stock company, or association, or of any firm or partnership, or other business entity, is employed or acts as an officer or agent of the United States for the transaction of business with such business entity, shall be fined not more than $2,000 or imprisoned not more than two years, or both.

The facts are clear and simple. By the candid admission of Mr. Stevens himself, he has 43,000 shares in the J. P. Stevens Company, almost one-third of whose business last year was with the Defense Department of the Government. Mr. Stevens himself has been chairman of the board of this company, which is largely a family-owned concern. Mr. Stevens has agreed to divest himself of his personal holdings. This willingness we must applaud, because it will involve a considerable financial sacrifice. But even after Mr. Stevens has divorced himself from his own stockholdings, his immediate family, according to the record of the hearings, will retain about 30,000 shares. Even more significant is the fact that, in addition to these family holdings, there is held in trust, under the terms of his father's will approximately 206,000 shares in this company, of which nearly 70,000 shares will revert to Mr. Stevens on the death of his mother. Of this interest Mr. Stevens cannot legally divest himself. The trust, created by his father's will, cannot be set aside, nor can Mr. Stevens' interest in it be ceded or eliminated. This large block of stock represents, in my reluctant judgment, a very direct interest, on Mr. Stevens' part, in the Stevens Co.

Indeed, the opinion of Mr. John W. Davis, a great lawyer, whose counsel Mr. Stevens solicited and whose opinion was entered into the record by Mr. Stevens, makes it very clear that the disposal by Mr. Stevens of his personal holdings of the stock will not divest Mr. Stevens of an undeniable and inalienable interest in a company with which the Army Department must and will do . . . business. . . .

But Mr. Davis goes on to say that the letter of the law can still be satisfied if Mr. Stevens will disqualify himself from participating in decisions involving Army contracts with the Stevens Company. . . . I have been in public life for a great many years, and have held some positions of executive responsibility. I cannot see how the head of a department, any more than the Governor of a state, can disqualify himself or otherwise divest himself of a responsibility for performing functions imposed upon him by law. That responsibility is his. He may delegate it to others, to his subordinates, or even to his superior, but that delegation does not divest him of his own ultimate responsibility. . . . The conflict of interest, forbidden by law, is present, even though in the present instance Mr. Stevens might not personally take part in the award of contracts to the Stevens Company. . . . A way may have been found . . . to get around the letter of the law, although I do not think the way wholly satisfies the law. But the spirit of the law would be . . . violated. . . .

I wish . . . to emphasize that my decision to vote against Mr. Stevens involves no doubt of his high character, integrity, loyalty, and good will. I have a high personal regard for the man, and a great respect for his achievements and talents. But to confirm him would be further to undermine and virtually to destroy a vital principle of government—a principle upon which rests that delicate and precious structure, the public faith. Destroy that and we destroy all. We cannot venture even to endanger it. . . .

. . . I predict that the confirmation of the nominations of Mr. Stevens and Mr. Wilson will in the future be advanced as precedents to justify the confirmation of the nominations of other less worthy men. In good conscience I must, therefore, vote against the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Stevens.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BUSINESSMEN AT THE PLOW

by Jean Begeman

SINCE November, the commodity market has steadily declined. Farm prices are down and income is 11 percent under the 1952 level. When Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson met with the Senate Agriculture Committee for the first time on January 15, a fellow Republican, Sen. Milton Young (N.Dak.), charged that the "uncertainty" of Benson's public statements was having an adverse effect on farm prices and said, "I do not know anything that would bolster farm prices more now than a *clear-cut* statement from you with respect to these price-support programs."

When Benson's attempt to reassure farmers finally came on January 28, the formal statement read: "We are now supporting prices of a number of farm products. . . . We shall continue to use such price-supporting devices as are available to us *when and if* prices sag below the levels prescribed by the Congress."

The next day, the Washington *Star* market page reported:

> New York, Jan. 29 (AP)—Cotton futures were mostly lower in early dealings today. . . . Midmorning prices were 70 cents a bale lower to 10 cents higher than the previous close.
>
> Chicago, Jan. 29 (AP)—Grains sagged after getting off to a firm start at the Board of Trade today. A little buying entered all cereals at the opening on an overnight announcement by Agriculture Secretary Benson that his department will continue to use such farm-price supporting devices as it has available. However, local traders were not inclined to follow the advance. . . .

Livestock prices were steady or up slightly in Chicago, down elsewhere. In Baltimore, cabbage was "barely steady." In Washington, a Western Republican Senator phoned the Pentagon to see if the Army would take "immediate action" and support the Denver livestock market by placing some big meat orders with packers there.

The parity ratio, which reflects the relationship of what farmers get for their products to what they have to pay for their needs, was down to 95 percent on January 15, off three percent from the previous months and 10 percent from the same date the year before. The farmers' share of consumer dollars has dropped from 56 cents to 46 cents since World War II days. While most wage earners' incomes have been at least steady in this period so that they have suffered loss only of purchasing power, the farmers have been hurt two ways: their income and the purchasing power of their dollars are both down.

The farmers who thought it was "time for a change" are experiencing just that. Democrats insisted farmers shouldn't trust the GOP; that the Republican platform was weak, was backed by advocates of *low* or *no* price supports, such as the American Farm Bureau and commodity handlers, processors and distributors. But millions of farm voters put aside their uneasiness and helped Eisenhower to win.

Uneasiness turned again to fear when Benson was designated as Secretary of Agriculture. He had told an audience that, *"Every young man requires the spur of insecurity to force him to do his best . . . a planned and subsidized economy weakens initiative, discourages industry, destroys character and demoralizes the people."* A feed dealer wrote to his Senator that "everyone seems to feel that Mr. Ezra Benson is opposed to 90 percent of parity government guaranty and will permit farm commodities to slide off from day to day."

The great weakness of Mr. Benson's *Reassuring Statement* is its eloquent omission of any suggestion that he will use his own discretionary powers to support sagging farm prices. It says (as his press aide explained) that he will do what Congress had made mandatory.

There are three kinds of price supports provided in the Farm Act.

It is *mandatory* for the Secretary to support six basic crops—cotton, corn, rice, peanuts, wheat and tobacco—at 90 percent of parity.

He must support dairy products somewhere between 75 percent and 90 percent of parity—the level left to him—and honey, wool, mohair and tung nuts at somewhere between 60 percent and 90 percent of parity.

Those are the only levels Congress has prescribed. The Secretary can support any other farm product at one percent to 100 percent of parity if he sees fit, and has funds. But Benson's statement omitted any reference to his use of these discretionary powers. Farm circles will watch closely through February and March to see what the new Secretary does about dairy supports and cottonseed, which Secretary Charles F. Brannan supported at 90 percent of parity. Benson could drop dairy supports down to 75 percent of parity, and he could withdraw cottonseed supports altogether. There are problems about both commodities, such as mounting stocks in Commodity Credit Corporation hands. Support programs for both are due to be announced soon—for dairy products by March 31 and for cottonseed, if any, ahead of planting season.

These are the only important price-support decisions Secretary Brannan left to his successor. Brannan himself announced 1953 supports and support levels for barley.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

oats, rye, grain sorghums, flaxseed, soybeans, winter cover seeds, edible beans, wool and mohair, before he left office, maintaining them at previous dollar-and-cents levels.

Benson's appointments have done little to assuage the farmer's fears. John H. Davis of the National Wool Marketing Corporation, named to Benson's Interim Advisory Committee, told the Boston *Herald* that the Committee's big job would be to review farm-support programs: "The present program was set up in the '30's under depression conditions and . . . lacks realism under today's conditions." He also attacked "heavy government buying of many commodities" in connection with USDA price-support operations—and shortly thereafter was named to head the agency which does such buying!

There are no proponents of strong price supports among Benson's policy appointees. On the other hand, there are so many processors, bankers, handlers and agricultural industry people that farmers are deeply concerned that they are "out" and the historic foes of farm programs are "in" at the USDA. Throughout the existence of farm programs, they have been attacked by agricultural processors, manufacturers and business interests. Joseph Seegar, president of the Chicago Mercantile (commodity) Exchange, made it clear in a broadcast from the Republican National Convention last July that the attitude of the agricultural industries group has not changed in 17 years, when he said:

> . . . we of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, and I think I speak for the largest percent of the people in the industry, feel that *any* price support tends to destroy the free action of the market because these supports cannot fail to unbalance the normal effect of supply and demand on price.

It is against such a background that farmers size up Secretary Benson's appointments—with some alarm.

Benson's top Interim Advisory Committee (some later appointed to high posts in USDA) includes:

Dean W. I. Myers of the College of Agriculture at Cornell, who is also a director of Continental Can, US Industrial Chemicals, Insular Lumber Company, N.Y. State Gas & Electric Co.

Jesse Tapp, vice-president of the Bank of America, San Francisco, in charge of its farm division.

Carl Farrington, vice-president of Archer-Daniels-Midland Company of Minneapolis, in charge of its grain division..

Robert R. Coker, seedsman, vice-president of Hartsville (S.C.) Oil Mill and a director of Bank of Hartsville, Hartsville Cotton Mill, Palmetto Oil Company, Greeneville Cotton Oil Co., Sonoco Products Co. and Egypt Farms Co.

D. W. Brooks, general manager of Cotton Producers Association of Atlanta, director of the Carolina Cotton Mills at Carrollton, Ga., and member of the Textile Industry Advisory Committee. (Former president of the Council of Farmer Co-operatives.)

Homer Davidson, vice-president of the American Meat Institute, a packers' organization.

Albert Mitchell, Republican Committeeman from New Mexico, who was described to the Senate Committee on Agriculture by Sen. Clinton Anderson as follows: "He operates the Matador Ranch, runs his own ranch, produces several thousand head of cattle a year, and bought a ranch in the Southwestern part of the country."

John H. Davis, executive vice-president of the National Wool Marketing Co-operation, a co-operative manager.

Other members are from state colleges and the managerial side of farm groups, including Dean Harry Reed of Purdue College of Agriculture, Bert Wood of Oregon State College, Milo Swanton of Madison (Wis.) Milk Producers and the state council of Farmer Co-operatives, Harry B. Caldwell of the North Carolina Grange and Council of Farmer Co-operatives, Chris Milius of the Nebraska Farmers Union, Romeo Short of the American Farm Bureau and Arkansas Rice Growers Association.

Secretary Benson told the Senate Agriculture Committee he is strong for commodity advisory committees and expects to use producers, handlers and processors on them. Thereupon Senator Young, fellow Republican, inquired: "Will you be appointing any farmers to these committees? So far as I know you have not appointed any farmers."

And Mr. Benson replied: "Yes, there have been *some,* Senator."

Secretary Benson's much-publicized reorganization and realignment of USDA agencies has heightened concern among farmers about their status in the new Administration. The farmer-elected community and county committee system of administering farm programs has been considered by some students of government as a major step toward achieving democratic administration of "big government." It involves thousands of citizens, on a part-time basis, in the national programs, requiring those thousands to be intimate with the purposes and operations, and therefore able to explain them to neighbors and friends, and to criticize or make suggestions.

Secretary Benson's reorganization is a first step away from such committees. He is moving, in his reorganization, toward turning both the Agricultural Conservation Program, run by farmer-elected committees, and the Soil Conservation Service, which uses farmer-elected district boards of directors, over to the state colleges.

How far Benson's reorganization will go is not announced. He is operating like the tender-hearted New England housewife who couldn't bear to drop a live lobster into boiling water. So she put the lobster in cold water and brought it slowly to a boil.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REACTION TO THE "TOUGH POLICY"

SENSIBLE Europeans are used to attacks in the US isolationist press. They have much the same attitude toward the criticism by the primitives of the Right in the US as sensible Americans have toward equally unjust criticism of the intellectuals of the Left in Europe. They are annoyed but not alarmed. For in both cases the critics do not speak for the ideas and feelings of reasonable, decent people. Nor do they speak with the authentic voice of responsible leaders and governmental officials.

The sudden appearance, however, in US publications presumed over here to have influence not only on a mass public but also on the personal views of President Eisenhower, of violent and virulent criticism of Europe and the Europeans is quite a different matter. Such criticism has been published recently in the Washington *Star*, the Scripps-Howard newspapers generally, and *Life*. It has been republished widely all over Europe.

In a single issue of *Life*, for example, there were attacks both on Switzerland and on France. The one on Switzerland involved a species of guilt-by-association, the one on France naked character assassination. French political life was likened to a bedroom farce, the French nation was presented as a kept woman, and the French people as contemptible panders. In both cases, the subject matter and treatment went far beyond the normal standards of decency in the international criticism of policy and conduct of allies, if not friends.

Max Petitpierre who, as head of the Swiss Federal Political Department, is the equivalent of the nation's President, said the article about his country was libelous. Newspapers like the *Gazette* of Lausanne and the *Tribune* of Geneva called for official protests. In a long front-page editorial in the *Figaro* of Paris, the organ of French big business and the most ardently pro-US of all French dailies, François Mauriac, the Catholic novelist who won last year's Nobel Prize, said the French "find it hard to accept a certain lowness of insult." While reaffirming French faith in America's high purposes, he suggested that, "Vulgar laughter ill becomes a people with the power to wipe out all human life over vast areas of the earth."

The general effect of the *Life* piece was to make many Europeans wonder whether deliberate insult would now be considered in Washington to be a proper instrument of the new Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policy.

Certainly the attacks on the two countries seemed as deliberately coarse and provocative as anything in Pravda and Izvestia—and, in effect, better Communist propaganda. The implications of the editorial were that not only French political conduct but also the form of French Government would need to be changed; and that, even with such a change, the French would remain a pretty despicable lot. And, true or false, such notions took on great significance in European minds because of the timing and the circumstances of the attack.

It was published exactly a week after the inauguration of President Eisenhower whose views on France's lack of moral fiber still rankle; and not long before the arrival in Europe of Secretary Dulles. It was in *Life* that Dulles first spelled out to the big US public—and to the world at large—his dynamic doctrine of liberation. The magazine is considered, therefore, to be just what such isolationist sheets as the New York *Daily News* and the Chicago *Tribune* are not—the authentic mouthpiece of responsible official opinion.

The new Secretary of State has given other suggestions of a peculiarly undiplomatic kind of personal dynamism since he took office.

In Europe, the Luce magazines have long been seen as not only a major support of Eisenhower—but also as a strong influence in forming his political ideas and plans. This view has had what has seemed to be confirmation since Eisenhower took office. The prominence of big businessmen in the cabinet and other high places is one sign; and the Luce magazines speak for General Motors, duPont, the Rockefellers and the others.

Other signs are the places given to Luce men—and women. One Luce editor, Emmet Hughes, is the Presidential administrative assistant who is assigned (Europeans believe) to write the foreign-policy speeches. Another Luce editor, C. D. Jackson, has been named a member of the new Cold War Psychological Strategy Board. And it is expected that, sooner or later, Mrs. Luce will go to Rome as Ambassador to Italy and, even more important, as de facto Ambassador to the Holy See.

For the most part, the non-Communist press treated these events with cool, journalistic objectivity until the *Life* editorial aroused suspicions. Then such newspapers as *France-Soir*, also an organ of big business and pro-US, pointed out the presence of veterans of Gen. William Donovan's Office of Strategy Services in the new Psychological Strategy Board, and hinted broadly that the power behind the Eisenhower scenes would be the big US businessmen who created and maintain Radio Free Europe, with its hardly concealed and not quite subsidiary "cloak and dagger" operations.

Thus, the final and most serious effect of the *Life* editorial is to create the impression in Europe, among America's friends even more than among its foes, that a mysterious and dangerous connection exists between the new Soviet harshness and an emergent US harshness; and that policies, on which the destinies, even the lives of all Europeans may depend, are being put into effect without their knowledge or consent because, after all, they aren't grown up or sensibly manly enough to be bothered with.

Before the *Life* editorial, the Manchester *Guardian* said of Dulles' projects that, "The idea of a crusade has dangerous possibilities" but, after all, "America cannot use the same methods as Russia because it is not the same kind of society." The *Life* editorial didn't change American society, but it made many Europeans wonder and worry about whether the new American Government would use some of the same methods as Russia—at least in dealing with Europe.

Paris PERCY WINNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE GNOMES AND IMPS OF PAUL KLEE

by Duncan Phillips

CAROLA GIEDION-WELCKER'S big and beautifully illustrated book on Paul Klee is the biggest and most beautiful that I have seen of the comparatively few biographical and critical works devoted exclusively to the artist. The author is a Swiss critic who knew Klee and was assisted by his wife and son. That so great a man as Klee has been written about chiefly in the form of the essay instead of at book length could be due to the fact that he was a maker of what may appear to be exquisite fragments and delicate distillations. He worked by preference on little pictures. They were not faint essences however since they often contained powerful and inspired commentary. The reticence, intimacy, informality and modest size of their appearance characterized a unique inventive genius which owed a great deal of its enchantment to surprise and the slowly growing recognition of its range and vision. Some critics have been inclined to write whimsically and subjectively about Klee with a brevity like his own. Some have thought of analogies in literature or music as more evocative than analysis. Herbert Read thought of Marvel's lines suggesting how completely the outer world can be lost in a sort of fairy-land of esthetic revery or caprice:

> Obliterating all that's made
> With a green thought
> In a green shade

and he wrote in another book that Klee's world is:

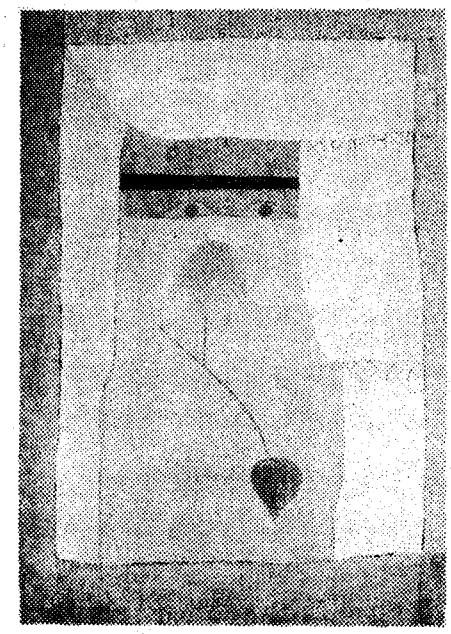
> a world of spooks and goblins, of mathematical gnomes and musical imps, of elfish flowers and fabulous beasts, a Gothic world. . . . But the page of Klee's manuscript is much larger; it is the open page of the imagination—of the pre-conscious mind.

That seems to tell all in a small space and many creative critics have been tempted to write in that way without too conscientious a care. Carola Giedion-Welcker however seems to have felt that such brevity and even levity of appreciation might look like an acknowledgment that Klee was a delightful "little master" whereas she was determined to demonstrate and at length that he was one of the most original, profound, complex, erudite, versatile, and epoch-making artists of our time. This purpose she has quite convincingly accomplished. If in this labor of love the labor is as much in evidence on every page as the love, nevertheless the reverent thoroughness justifies itself in the results and the shy spirit of Klee does not escape.

PAUL KLEE, by Carola Giedion-Welcker (Viking; $7.50).

The one hundred and sixty-four illustrations, thirteen in full color, speak for themselves and to each of us differently. It might have been better if the German titles, which are often keys to enigmas of "fancy-begotten thought," could have been printed along with the English translations. German readers might enjoy their own different understandings of what the artist wished to convey. The color prints of *Actor's Mask, Gay Repast* and *Classic Coast,* three paintings which I have seen, are excellent reproductions. The other ten are of works from the Klee Stiftung in Berne and from private collections in Zurich, as are most of the black and white illustrations. Mrs. Giedion-Welcker does not discuss the paintings which she illustrates except to refer to their use of Klee's "vocabulary of symbols" which have opened up to all subjective artists of our day new worlds of imaginative discovery.

Of these symbols my favorite is the arrow. It occurs many times in this book —twice as one large black descending menace, a dramatization of impending fate. On another page arrows proliferate. They point up and down—they point right and left. It is a physiological expression of *"Fluctuating Equilibrium."* A fourth painting with the same important symbol of "eruptive tension" is called *Arrow in the Garden.* There it seems to fly high in space above "nature's whirling growths." A fifth is entitled *Fear* where the arrow is repeated insistently as the one direction the eye of fear cannot evade. In the Phillips Collection there is a painting by Klee where many arrows rush this way and that in frantic efforts to get out of the maze and up to the free air of the Citadel. The maze is another of Klee's insistent symbols to express emotions, only one of which is that bewildered enclosure and frustration which makes us think of Kafka's *The Castle.* More often the colorful rectilinear façades of vibrating layered planes with perhaps one pyramid or one dome recall scenes of oriental splendor. Most



ARAB SONG, by Paul Klee
The Phillips Collection

ingratiating of all Klee's symbols is "the line taking a walk" as in the delicious drawing *Family Promenade.* In the author's paragraphs on "The Irrational," "Ordered Spaces," "Symbols for Motion," and "Script as Visual Poetry," the artist is revealed as, with Kandinsky, the chief inspiration of our contemporary "free, dynamic calligraphy."

Pioneering into realms which only Odilon Redon and a few others had

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plored before him Klee's new language of technical resourcefulness and compositional invention may be more important than what he had to say. Though his commentary of design is guided by the metaphysical poet, the mystic or the humorist, there is nevertheless good reason why Mrs. Giedion-Welcker, an authorized and authoritative interpreter, seldom chuckles with such wit as *The Twittering Machine* or enlarges on the sardonic truth entangled in the wiry line of the *Mocker Mocked*. She confines herself to the autonomous language of color and line, calling attention only in a large way to Klee's cosmic and psychic glimpses as well as to his private symbols for elemental feelings. It is often said that Klee's is an art to be read. Also it is an art to be heard—as one listens to chamber music and to a bird in a garden. His script is calligraphy which delights the eye. His imagery is full of phosphoresence and of endless darting movement, which had its origin perhaps in his early visit to the fish in the Naples Aquarium. Last but not least of his great endowments Klee had a wonderful sense of nonsense. I miss that gayer part of him, that lyrical poetry of the best nonsense, in the Giedion-Welcker book.

Duncan Phillips, critic and collector, is director of the Phillips Gallery in Washington. He is a trustee of the National Gallery of Art and of the Museum of Modern Art.

GOD'S AND CAESAR'S

ESSAYS ON CHURCH AND STATE, by Lord Acton. Edited by Douglas Woodruff (Viking; $5.50).

IN THE LATE eighteen-fifties, while Darwin was completing his *Origin of Species* and Marx his *Critique of Political Economy,* a small but brilliant coterie of English Catholics, mostly converts, was arguing with itself and with the hierarchy that the method of free inquiry, both in science and in politics, was inherent in the true Catholic tradition and full of promise for the Church. Deeply imbued with the new scientific spirit and at the same time strongly attached to the ancient and durable authority of Rome, which they thought to be self-limiting if secular pressures were removed, they believed that "there is a system of metaphysics and of ethics, singularly agreeable to Catholicism but entirely independent of it" which would make Catholic intellectuals the inevitable leaders in all the provinces of science and draw the world back to the Church.

Circumstances seemed propitious. Catholic historians, especially in Germany, were proving that the rigors of the critical approach, from which much had been feared, were in fact not merely bearable but beneficial: the Church's claims, though modified, no doubt, in unessential areas, were being placed within a framework of authentic history. Meanwhile, in England, where Catholic disabilities had been removed—though not entirely so as yet in universities—there was a deepened interest in the Faith. Would Catholics prove equal to the opportunity? The little coterie, though well aware of opposition, was certain that the answer lay in intellectual leadership.

It was to this situation that Sir John Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton, son of an English diplomatist and of the daughter of the Duc de Dalberg, hereditary First Knight of the Holy Roman Empire, brought talent and diligence when, in his twenty-fourth year, he became joint editor of the controversial Catholic review, *The Rambler.* Acton, who was born in Naples, had travelled widely and was educated chiefly in Germany, was nevertheless by temperament and preference an English liberal. There was "a philosophy of politics," he thought, which could be "derived from Catholicism on the one hand" and on the other from the British Constitution. Pluralism was the secret of good government, and in a country divided into many orderly entities, the Church could have unusual vitality and remain independent of monarchs and emperors who invariably humiliated her as the price of their adherence and protection.

If this was the political advantage of the Church in England, the intellectual opportunity was even brighter. All that was necessary was to recognize that Revealed Truth, as the Church taught it, and scientific truth, sought through its own disciplines, could never be discordant. Truth was truth, whether sacred or secular, and if there were disharmonies it was only because further research was necessary. As for the elements in the hierarchy which feared such research, "the Catholic is subject to the correction of the Church when he is in contradiction with her truth, not when he stands in the way of her interests." Who should decide which was which, or the precise boundaries of hierarchical authority in defining truth, Acton did not say. But it was a matter not unnoticed by the hierarchy—as he would presently discover! However, before considering the outcome of the venture, it may be well to look a little into what composed its substance.

The thirteen essays reproduced in this volume are from *The Rambler* and *The Home & Foreign Review,* dating from 1858 to 1864, followed by book notices, mostly of a somewhat later date. The introduction of 36 pages is brief but indispensable. The scheme of presentation is not chronological, though it might better have been since no orderly development of subject matter is apparent in the plan adopted. The essays on "The Catholic Press" and "The Catholic Academy" should really have come first. They define the task which Acton took upon himself, lamenting that English Catholics were indifferent to learning, blind to opportunity, and "of such various derivation that we do not possess even common prejudices, the very lowest symbol of unity." Without participating in the new and scientific learning, he continues, Catholics will be unable to contend on equal terms with "learned infidelity." For

> . . . men of this stamp can be answered with no subterfuge; they must be beaten with their own weapons . . . They assail us in the name of science; but they submit to the authority to which they appeal.

Acton was supremely confident that by surpassing the "learned infidel" in allegiance to the scientific standards, he could make him see that the ground on which they both were standing was the ground of Sacred Truth with which the truth of science must merge, the Church being the point of confluence. That science and the Church must be in genu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ine conflict, the findings of the one in wide divergence from the doctrines of the other, he never seriously considers; nor does he say what he would do in that event. Yet, this is the crux of the matter. Truth through freedom and truth promulgated by authority are not two sides of the same coin; they are two entirely different currencies. The farthest Acton goes in recognizing this—and it is not really a recognition: he more than half evades it—is in his comment on the excommunication of the German scholar, Frohschammer, who, he says, should have yielded "an external submission" when he was censored by the Curia, although

> . . . he owes it to his conscience and to the supreme claims of truth to remain constant to that which he believes in spite of opposition. No authority has power to impose error, and if it resists the truth, the truth must be upheld until it is admitted.

Nevertheless, he condemns Frohschammer, implying that he should have kept quiet, satisfied in his own conscience "that he was in agreement with the true faith of the Church," rather than with official dogma. This is either a claim for the supremacy of private judgment and therefore "the Protestant heresy" or it is merely chatter. If the individual himself decides what is the true faith of the Church, then, whether he remains silent or declares it, he has rejected the claim of the Church—the basic claim of all—to authority. But Lord Acton seems never to have understood this; or, if he understood it and remained silent about it, as he thought Frohschammer should have done, what was his moral justification for such a course and what substance was there in his view that science could be free and the Church dogmatic and both arrive at the same truth?

The essay on the causes of the American Civil War (referred to in the title as "the American Revolution"), goes far astray. In reckless haste (May, 1861), Acton considers the Union forever dissolved, its "spurious democracy" having wrought its undoing. This was inevitable from the beginning. The sovereignty of the people and the sovereignty of the law were ineluctably in conflict, and without a monarch to ensure that "force yields to right" it is always certain that might will "prevail over law." Indeed, "in a democracy, the power is already in the hands of those who seek to subvert and to abolish the law," and they are sure to do it. Concerning this epitaph, prepared for the funeral of American democracy, it is perhaps appropriate to paraphrase Lord Acton's famous maxim; for if "power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely," it may also be true that "prediction tends to discredit and absolute prediction discredits absolutely."

The essays on the Popes and the Papal States are informative, scholarly treatments, quite inconclusive as to moral rights; the essay on Frederick the Great, which was so annoying to Queen Victoria, is based on the faked *Matinées*, which Acton insists are authentic; and the other essays are variations on the theme of Catholic concordance with the liberal spirit of the new age, in which, unfortunately, the author was to prove as unfulfilled a prophet as he was in other matters.

After vacillating uncomfortably for several years, the English hierarchy, new and unsure of itself at first, decided with Manning that the interest of the Church would not be served by critical reviews which over-taxed the minds of bishops and threatened to get out of ecclesiastical control. For a brief period, Newman himself had tried to save the venture; then, tainted by association with it, he turned against it. Catholic liberalism was all but over. Soon, there would be a Pope who would persuade a Council, after two months' uneasy deliberation, to vote, 451 to 150, that the Holy Father was infallible. To this, Acton would respond that it made

> . . . civil legislation on all points of contract, marriage, education, &c. . . . subject to the legislation of the Church, which would be simply the arbitrary will of the Pope. Most assuredly, no man accepting such a code could be a loyal subject, or fit for the enjoyment of political privileges.

And this, of course, as Blanshard has made clear, is still a burning issue. What Acton would say of it now, we cannot know. But it could not be less than he did say. He was a Catholic humanist who never quite met the question he discussed; and yet, in certain terms, he discussed it well. He was a political liberal, an authentic scholar; and eventually and worthily, a Regius Professor of Modern History. But he was defeated in his chief ambition. The Ultramontane Catholic was not to be.

A. POWELL DAVIES

THE FUTURE—IF ANY

THE IMPACT OF SCIENCE ON SOCIETY, by Bertrand Russell (Simon and Schuster; $3).

THE MOST IMPORTANT SUBJECT by which mankind is confronted is whether we have enough collective intelligence to keep from mass suicide by war or starvation. One of the three or four wisest philosopher-scientists known to exist is certainly Bertrand (now Lord) Russell. You would surmise, therefore, that a book by him on this subject would be worth while, and so it is.

This volume is not a major effort; it is a reprint of seven lectures, most of them given at Ruskin College, Oxford, three of them published in this country two years ago under the same title. You have a little feeling that the weary old oracle has been prodded out of his cave to repeat a few more truths. No new ground is broken; but Bertrand Russell's repetitions are better than most men's major efforts. He is not only a great mathematician, student of all other phases of science, and philosopher, but a man of magnificent commonsense—so magnificent that I can't understand why he hasn't been crucified, or at least locked up for the crime of intelligibility.

Like many other thoughtful students, Russell sees the world threatened by the ultimate application of the Malthusian principle that population, potentially unbounded, tends to increase faster than the food supply which, in the last analysis, is strictly limited. The only possible escape would be a society founded on scientific principles, in which birth control is used to prevent the explosion of population, and war over dwindling resources is avoided by having only one worldwide government. Vanishing raw

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

materials would then be allocated among various areas of the world on a basis of need, and so would food. These sound like glib solutions but the 80-year-old philosopher is anything but glib. He knows that human beings do not necessarily move in the directions that will most benefit them; that many people, without being aware of it, are happier in times of war than peace. He points out, a little wistfully, that the world is changing so fast nowadays the wisdom of the aged is no longer superior to that of the young but that old and young alike must adjust and readjust with terrifying rapidity or face destruction. Yet the human beings who are caught in this dilemma still have only the intellectual equipment of the Stone Age, and most of them are encumbered by masses of traditions, superstitions, inhibitions, which make it almost impossible for them to move as fast as the times demand. Russell gives a terrifying list of examples of Voodoo, past and present.

Several reviewers of this book have followed the line of the man who wrote the jacket blurb and have singled out for quotation Russell's remark that what the world needs is "love, Christian love, or compassion." They have done so, obviously, because they themselves find solace in such an idea, and they make Russell sound as though he were demanding that "return to religion" for which every pulpit in the land dutifully pleads once a week, decade after decade. But Russell does not expect the miracle of love to save us—or any other miracle. He thinks that if we are saved it will be because "science offers the possibility of far greater well being for the human race than has ever been known before" and because a democratic society gives a better chance for scientific advancement than a totalitarian one. Whether you will accept this slender basis for optimism depends of course on your own mind-set; to this reviewer, it seems the only one compatible with common honesty about the facts of life.

Footnote: Is there today any American college that would have enough courage and intelligence to invite this particular man to give this particular course of lectures? If so, which one?

BRUCE BLIVEN

GREENE AGROUND

THE SHIPWRECKED, by Graham Greene (Viking; $3).

TO THOSE READERS who know Graham Greene as the master of the high-class thriller, or as the author of recent fictional studies in the relationship of psychology and morality, this novel will seem but a cheerless addition to his work. Originally entitled, *England Made Me*, its re-appearance after eighteen years invites but academic interest in the juvenilia of a fine writer.

The Shipwrecked is concerned with alienation. Each of its characters has been somehow stranded on some margin of spiritual existence. Krogh, the tycoon, resembles the Great Gatsby, but comparison must be invidious. They are related by the colossal reaches of their wealth and power, by the single-minded ambition that has cut them off from any hope of salvation. But, unlike Gatsby, Krogh has not even the sentimental fragments of a memory beyond his public legend to make him human. Like the Scandinavian moderne decor surrounding him, he remains abstract, the refinement of something that was once organic, perhaps even human. Kate, his English mistress and secretary, has been alienated from the possibility of normal satisfactions by an overwhelming and aggressive lover for her twin brother. Anthony, the twin brother, is one of those who "were not fresh enough, optimistic enough, to believe in peace, cooperation, the dignity of labour, or if they believed in them . . . were not young enough to work for them." Minty, the grubby parasitical journalist whose career consists wholly of prying into Krogh's affairs, lives otherwise in a world of his own and keeps a spider under glass. He was born, like Anthony, with an incapacity to participate. All of his feelings are private. Alone in his room he fingers them like pieces of string or tinfoil.

The story turns upon the relationship of Kate and Anthony. Abnormally caught in their twinship, each hearkens back to an incident in childhood when, having escaped from the schools that jailed them apart, they stood at the threshold of freedom to have the world and one another. It was Kate who reneged and sent Anthony back to school, and this failure has left her with a guilt that compels her toward possessing her brother for good. Anthony's subsequent adventures around the edges of the British colonial world have been crooked and misspent but, in Kate's eyes, he is still redeemable. When he proves to be beyond redemption, she is undeterred. She wants him, and her tenacity leads to his murder, not at her hands, but at those of a newly-arrived individual whose devotion to Kate's lover is as obsessive as her feelings for Anthony.

The most real part of this novel is the city of Stockholm; we see it in a graceful series of snapshots, water-colors and tone-poems. The most false part of the book is its curiously one-dimensional treatment of characters who act like psychopathics, yet are meant to engage the sympathetic interest most honest victims of this life and time can command. Since the characters are unreal, many situations tend to become slick: the tycoon finding love in an amusement park; the wronged young worker literally knocked out by the capitalist's henchman; the hard-boiled mistress toying with the idea of blackmail between embraces, et cetera.

Alienation in the modern world is a major theme. In his later novels Greene has assayed it with acute analysis and philosophical breadth. In *The Shipwrecked* it is without substance, inexpertly maneuvered into something between the comic and the psychopathic.

JOHN MALCOLM BRINNIN

AN EXPANSE OF ORDER

RHYTHM AND TEMPO, by Curt Sachs (Norton; $6.75).

HIS FASTIDIOUS ATTENTION to detail has given Curt Sachs an almost oracular authority on matters which are the special quality of any given music, but his work seems to be intended to provide, by analysis, common denominators for all known music. In this book—the first of its kind in English and one of the few really important studies of rhythm that has been made—Sachs deals with the *sine qua non* of all music, that element

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which makes it progress through time.

Perhaps the reason that musical rhythm has been neglected by scholarship is that its meaning is vague. As Dr. Sachs says, "everybody feels entitled to usurp it for an arbitarary definition of his own." In attempting to arrive at a definition which could be generally acceptable, Sachs is cautious, but by comparing views, he decides that it is an organization of movement which includes "kinetic intermittence at regular intervals, which, perceived through ears or eyes or feeling, makes our minds aware of a well-organized expanse in time or space." This simple definition is not only adequate for music, poetry and other time-filling arts, but for architecture, painting, and other ostensibly static expressions which qualify Dr. Sachs's conclusions. Tempo as such is only a relative speed of rhythmic progress, more obvious in music and in dancing than in poetry, but absent or highly irregular in the static arts. In this sense, rhythm may be thought of as a constant in all the arts, while tempo is a variable, conditioned by both the medium of expression and the culture in which the isolated work is produced.

Having defined his terms, and assuming that rhythm is a constant, Sachs traces the history of music throughout the world, relating rhythmic practice to cultural phenomena. He begins with a discussion of the rhythmic uses of primitive groups—African, American Indian, Asian and Polynesian. In a sense, primitive music is much more elaborate rhythmically and accentually than more sophisticated music, partly because it is so involved with physical movement. In complex civilizations, music becomes an intellectual activity, qualified by philosophy and by the other arts. Sachs devotes a great deal of his book to the music of the East. He shows, for instance, how the classical music of China was made to comply with "the fiat of Confucious that music be mild, cerne and dignified," and how this music influenced the court and theatre music of Japan. Treating each culture separately, Sachs shows the relation of rhythm to that broad context without which, he feels, it cannot be understood. Much of his speculation is necessarily hypothetical, especially when—as in ancient Greece and Rome—a large musical literature was not preserved. Under such circumstances, a wide cultural reference is the basis of his thinking.

In the Far East and the classical West, the philosophy of music developed faster and more thoroughly than the actual technique of composition. In each case, philosophy inhibited the development of new methods and of an expanded esthetic. The development of rhythmic resources in our own music has, as Sachs demonstrates, paralleled expansion and change in philosophy.

This book, concerned as it is with the rhythmic practices of all known cultures, not only in music, but in poetry and other arts as well, does not recommend itself to readers who are primarily interested in music as a comparatively recent Western evolution. Dr. Sachs devotes only a few pages to the substance of our standard repertory. But for anyone who is interested in the Occidental tradition in a larger sense, the book is full of useful information. I have never seen more eloquent, concise, logical writing about the Gregorian chant or the elaborate systems of the Middle Ages than is found here. There has been much more thorough work, but it is primarily of interest to scholars. The delight of Sachs's work—in this book and elsewhere—is that it is so accessible. On the important matter of style in performance of Renaissance and Baroque music, Sachs is infallible. Anyone who listens to the music of Bach, or Monteverde, or Palestrina, should have access to the kind of knowledge that is available here.

It is to the tremendous credit of any publisher to put a luxurious edition of this book on the commercial market, even with the knowledge that every library must buy it and that every musician will want to own it. It will never be a best seller. But it has one serious defect, and that is an inadequacy of musical example. Certain esoteric portions of the book should tax the liveliest of musical imaginations. The author's concern with philosophy, anthropology, and esthetics helps to ameliorate this deficiency, but many readers will undoubtedly be deprived of much of the real meaning.

ROBERT EVETT

FICTIONS: GOOD AND BAD

I AND MY TRUE LOVE, by Helen MacInnes (Harcourt, Brace; $3.50). DOG IN THE SKY, by Norman Corwin (Simon and Schuster; $3). THE WONDERFUL COUNTRY, by Tom Lea (Little, Brown; $3.75). A BRIGHTER SUN, by Samuel Selvon (Viking; $3).

ONCE UPON A TIME there was a woman named Sylvia (the heroine of *I and My True Love*). Sylvia had "pale soft skin molded over gently shaped bones, the smooth gold hair gleaming, the blue eyes and their long dark lashes." Sylvia loved Jan who was tall, had grey eyes and a "half-smile" on his face, and walked with a romantic limp. But, poor things, Sylvia was married to a cold, ambitious United States diplomat and Jan, alas, was a Czech. Needless to say—the story originally appeared in *The Woman's Home Companion*—for Jan love comes before politics, and he cooperates with the Communists, whom he detests, in order to get back to America to see his Juliet, whose lover he once had been. And when they meet, her eyes were "wide with disbelief." It might be added here that this reviewer's eyes were "wide with disbelief" at the tacit assumption of the novel that practically all State Department employees are either pure self-seekers or potential subversives and that all liberals are suspect. But, to return, the star-crossed lovers end in limp tragedy—Jan forced back to Czechoslovakia, Sylvia run down by a bus. This novel will probably introduce a new genre—the international soap opera, amalgamating Colonel McCormick's politics with the Romeo and Juliet theme.

And Norman Corwin's *Dog in the Sky*, which is an expansion of what was originally a radio program, inaugurates another new form—the children's story set in interstellar space. As such, *Dog in the Sky* is "cute" as can be: boy and dog, fantasy, and a space fiction vocabulary and setting. It is the sort of children's story that rising young executives doubtless read to their off-spring, and it ineffably suggests to the reader that brave new world of suburban living, with its station wagons, progressive schools, garbage disposal units, television

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sets, disposable diapers, and copies of *Time* and *Vogue* on the table.

The Wonderful Country, which takes place on the American-Mexican border shortly after the Civil War, is in great part a failure because of vague exposition, insufficiently developed characters, and a standard horse opera plot. Only when the author is describing the physical locale does the reader have a feeling of precision, clarity, and mastery of the subject.

Lea is, however, trying to deal seriously with something serious—the conflicting claims of two radically different ways of life. The protagonist, Martin Brady, is American by birth, Mexican by upbringing, and his chief struggle is in deciding to which group he owes his final allegiance. Now there are "good" Mexicans in the novel—although there are more "bad" ones—and there is a heroic negro in the American army, and indeed all kinds of tributes are paid to the idea of racial equality. Yet underlying the whole novel, as one of its unconscious assumptions, is that note of racial exclusiveness—here a harsh rigidity to the Mexican—which was once a source of amoral power to the European-Anglo-American community but which now, with the giant swing of history we are all enduring, is rapidly becoming an awesome liability. It never had sanction in thought; it now has less and less basis in power. Tom Lea has nothing to do with all this and many of his individual portraits of Mexicans are compassionate and complimentary, but the world he is concerned with and is describing is locked together by the idea that never the twain shall meet.

To enter the world of *A Brighter Sun,* after this, is a revelation. Here, on the island of Trinidad during World War II, the races tumble over one another in a lazy joyous-mournful dance, not the least of whose appeal lies in the wonderful Pidgin English, the Esperanto, which all the characters speak. The central personages, all close friends, are those three dispossessed of the earth, East-Indian, Creole, and Coolie. There is the inevitable white oppression, but even it somehow cannot break the charm nor spoil the peace of this close-knit international civilization. And the comment of the novel on the idea of racial exclusiveness is devastating precisely because of the calmness and non-hortatory character of the argument. For *A Brighter Sun* is one of those charming microcosms, so seldom met and therefore so welcome, that say serious things unpretentiously and implicatively by recounting honestly, compassionately, and humorously the doings of a group of human beings. The struggle of the hero, Tiger, thrust, in ignorance, into an adolescent marriage, to achieve maturity is a veritable paradigm of the human experience—from youth and inexperience, through a period of Faustian grasping after the impossible, to a final stoic wisdom. "What is to is, must is," says one of the more philosophical characters in the novel.

Around Tiger, his wife, and their life flows a dense stream of polygot life which has all the virtues and vices, the comedy and tragedy of the general human condition. As Tiger says to a friend:

> And, Joe, ain't all of we does live good? Ain't coolie does live good with nigger? Is only wite man who want to keep we down, and even so it have some good one among them. You know something, Joe, they have good and bad all about, don't matter if you wite or black.

Seldom has this essential moral been pointed out so ingenuously and so winningly as does *A Brighter Sun.* Between this languorous, rich, racy world and the bleak tensions and stringent aridities of *The Wonderful Country,* there is, in the realm of warmth and humanity, simply no comparison.

And so if we of the European heritage, "the children of the Enlightenment," must continue to be holier than thou, the racial problem will pursue us, like the Hound of Heaven, down the nights and down the days, down the arches of the years, down the labyrinthine ways of our minds. We cannot escape into international soap operas, coy space fiction, or terse westerns. Only a latter day Sermon on the Mount, which is what *A Brighter Sun* essentially is, can save us and then only if we will listen and attend.

JOHN HENRY RALEIGH

MILLER'S INNOCENCE

by Eric Bentley

THE FIRST THING to say about Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* is that it is worth discussing, a fact that sets it off from all other English and American plays of the season. I found the occasion a moving one. To begin with, it is moving to see so many good American actors, or perhaps what I mean is that it's moving to see them permitted to act. Above all, at a moment when we are all being "investigated" or about to be "investigated," it is moving to see images of "investigation" before the footlights. It seems to me that there ought to be dozens of plays giving a critical account of the state of the nation, yet the fact of one such play, by an author who is neither an infant, a fool, or a swindler, is enough to bring tears to the eyes.

"Great stones they lay upon his chest until he plead aye or nay. They say he give them but two words. 'More weight,' he says, and died." Miller's material is magnificent for narrative, poetry, drama, meaning. The fact that we sense its magnificence suggests that either he or his actors have in part realized it, yet our moments of emotion only make us the more aware of half-hours of indifference or dissatisfaction. This is a story not quite told, a drama not realized. Pygmalion has labored hard at his statue but it has not come to life. There is a terrible inertness about this play. The individual characters, like the individual lines, lack all fluidity and therefore all grace. There is an O'Neill-like striving after a poetry and an eloquence which the author cannot achieve. "From Aeschylus to Arthur Miller," say the textbooks. The world has made this author important before he has made himself great; the reversal of the natural order of things weighs heavily upon him. It would be all too easy, script in hand, to point to weak spots. The inadequacy of particular lines, and characters, is of less interest, however, than the mentality from which they come. It is the mentality of the unreconstructed liberal.

There has been some debate as to whether this story of 17th century Salem "really" refers to our current "witch hunt" but since no one is interested in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

anything *but* this reference, I pass on to the real point at issue, which is: the validity of the parallel. It is true in that people today are being persecuted on quite chimerical grounds. It is untrue in that communism is not, to put it mildly, merely a chimera. The word communism is used to cover, first, the politics of Marx, second, the politics of Stalin, and, third, all the activities of liberals as they seem to illiberal illiterates. Since Miller's argument bears only on the third use of the word, its scope is limited. Indeed, the analogy between "red-baiting" and witch hunting can seem complete only to communists, for only to them is the menace of communism as fictitious as the menace of witches. The non-communist will look for certain reservations and provisos. In *The Crucible,* there are none.

To accuse Mr. Miller of communism would of course be to fall into the trap of over-simplification which he himself has set. For all I know he may hate Stalin with all the ardor of Eisenhower. What I am maintaining is that his view of life is dictated by assumptions which liberals have to unlearn and which many liberals have rather publicly unlearned. Chief among these assumptions is that of general innocence. In Hebrew mythology, innocence was lost at the very beginning of things; in liberal, especially American liberal, folklore, it has not been lost yet; Arthur Miller is the playwright of American liberalism. It is as if the merely negative, and legal, definition of innocence were extended to the rest of life: you are innocent until proved guilty, you are innocent if you "didn't do it." Writers have a sort of double innocence: not only can they create innocent characters, they can also write from the viewpoint of innocence—we can speak today not only of the "omniscient" author but of the "guiltless" one.

Such indeed is the viewpoint of the dramatist of indignation, like Miss Hellman or Mr. Miller. And it follows that their plays are melodrama—a conflict between the wholly guilty and the wholly innocent. For a long time liberals were afraid to criticise the mentality behind this melodrama because they feared association with the guilty ("harboring reactionary sympathies"). But, though a more enlightened view would enjoin association with the guilty in the admission of a common humanity, it does not ask us to underestimate the guilt or to refuse to see "who done it." The guilty men are as black with guilt as Mr. Miller says—what we must ask is whether the innocent are as innocent. The drama of indignation is melodramatic not so much because it paints its villains too black as because it paints its heroes too white. *Othello* is not a melodrama, because, though its villain is jet black, its hero's white radiance is not unstained. *The Crucible* is a melodrama because, though the hero has weaknesses, he has no faults. His innocence is unreal because it is total. His author has equipped him with what we might call Super-innocence, for the crime he is accused of not only hasn't been committed by him, it isn't even a possibility: it is the fiction of traffic with the devil. It goes without saying that the hero has all the minor accoutrements of innocence too: he belongs to the right social class (yeoman farmer), does the right kind of work (manual), and, somewhat contrary to historical possibilities, has the right philosophy (a distinct leaning towards sceptical empiricism). . . .

The awkwardness I find in Mr. Miller's script is duplicated in Mr. Harris's directing. [He has not] . . . taken this script up like clay and re-molded it. He [has not] . . . struck fire from the individual actor . . . [nor] brought one actor into the liveliest relationship with another. Arthur Kennedy is not used up to half his full strength in this production; E. G. Marshall and Walter Hampden give fine performances but each in his own way, Hampden's way being a little too English, genteel, and 19th century; the most successful performance, perhaps, is that of Beatrice Straight because here a certain rigidity belongs to the character and is in any case checked by the performer's fine sensibility. . . .

[This is a part from a long study—ARTHUR MILLER: THE LIBERAL PLAYWRIGHT—by Eric Bentley. Mr. Bentley will discuss *The Emperor's Clothes* in the next issue of the *New Republic.*]

BOOKS

WHAT ARE YOUR CHILDREN WORTH? Educators present a better way to instruct and guide children and teenagers. Conflict, heartache, and tragedy may be prevented through a sympathetic presentation of all the facts of life. Written expertly for parents and teachers. Complete in two booklets—only 50c. (No stamps).
SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATES, Box, 1962, Lincoln, Nebraska.

HELP WANTED

WANTED: A man (either writer or artist preferred) for light work a few hours each day on a desolate farm in exchange for his board and his room. State interests and background. Scudden, Malebolge, Woodman, Wisconsin.

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS! TV MINDED? You do not have to be a television writer to write for TV. Outline, synopsis, plot, etc., will suffice. MEAD LITERARY AGENCY, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York 16.

POSITION WANTED

VETERAN, 23, married, B.A., graduate evening student (labor-economics) wants a job with a labor union, educational or research division. Address: Box 15, the New Republic.

PEP
Pamphlets

● Single copies of the broadsheets issued by Political and Economic Planning (London) may still be purchased from the New Republic for 25c cash postpaid. The most recent issues are:

#332 The Sterling Area—I
#332 The Sterling Area—II
#333 Land-Use Planning
#334 The Control of Investment
#335 The Gramophone Record
#336 The Prospects
#337 Home Ownership
#338 The Future of Leasehold
#339 Exports—A Longer View
#340 The World's Food
#341 Film Business
#342 France—Some Economic Factors
#343 Colonial Development
#344 Poverty
#345 France—Reconstruction & Investment
#346 Technical Assistance I—Agencies and Programmes
#347 Technical Assistance II—Policy and Method
#348 New Thinking on Monopoly
#349 Social Security and Unemployment in Lancashire

Price 25¢—Order from
The New Republic
40 EAST 49 STREET New York 17, N. Y.

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N. ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Expires March 1st
Trial Subscription Offer
13 Weeks for $1.00

FOR REASONS of cost, the phenomenally successful offer of 13 weeks trial subscription to the *New Republic* will have to be withdrawn on March 1.

Since the offer was first announced 13,000 such subscriptions have been received, of which more than 6,500 came in on the order blank printed on this page. During this interval, thanks also to increases in long-term subscriptions and renewal, the *New Republic's* circulation has risen by 50%. In January, 1953, the increase in subscription business over January, 1952, is 70%.

If you have not yet sent in your list of gift subscriptions, please do so now while the offer is still in force. You may use the order form printed at the side or a separate sheet of paper.

The *New Republic* is the *only* organ of the press edited and printed in Washington that supported Governor Stevenson. It will be the only publication edited in the Capital that can be counted on to treat the incoming administration impartially. It can be counted on to uncover facts and report them that the one-party press may ignore or bury in the back pages.

The *New Republic* represents the General Public —not General Motors or any of the large commercial advertisers who pay the bills of most newspapers and magazines. The *New Republic* belongs to its readers. Help support the magazine that is yours. For only $1.00 you can introduce it to your friends.

TEAR OFF HERE

TO THE NEW REPUBLIC — 40 East 49 Street — New York 17, N. Y.

For the enclosed $..... please send the New Republic for the next 13 weeks to the following:

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY & ZONE.....
STATE.....

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY & ZONE.....
STATE.....

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY & ZONE.....
STATE.....

2-16-53

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED